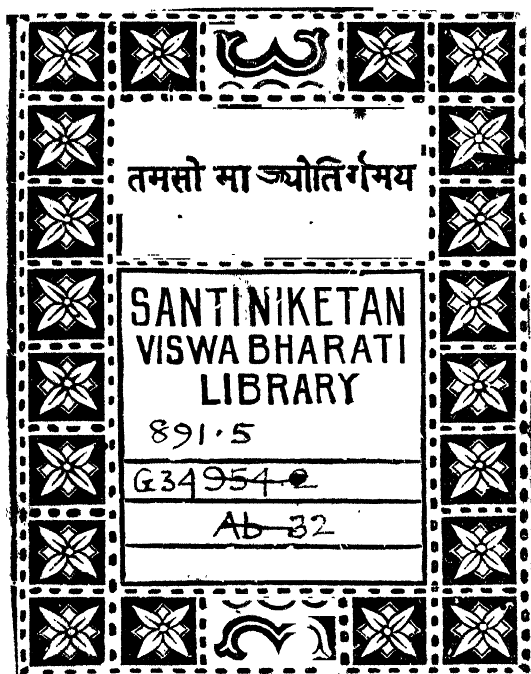




PRE-MUGHAL PERSIAN IN HINDŪSTĀN

ERRATA

page	*line*		*read*	*for*
63	15	(also pp. Index)	Hanẓalah	Ḥinẓalah
67	23	....	grandson	nephew
69	11	....	Qazdār	Basrah
70	7	....	352 A. H.	367 A. H.
73	10	....	before	after
82	11	(also pp. Index)	Sarkhash	Sarakhsh
97	9	....	Amīr Abū Mansūr	the same monarch
97	11	....	346 A. H.	352 A. H.
98	14	....	Sarakhsī	Sarakhshi
100	last	....	Ghaznavī	Ghōr
101	14/16	....	Gardēzī	Gurd-Yezī
114	8	(also pp. Index)	Mukhallad	Muhallad
114	13	(,, ,, ,,)	Rabinjanī	Zanjānī
156	14, 17, 19	(,, ,, ,,)	Khwārizm	Khwārazm
157	2	....	Ḥamavī	Ḥamvī
253	5	....	Bahrām	Ibrāhīm
331	26	....	Fidā'ī	Khakkar,
376	14	....	Amīr	Sultān
417	2	....	rhymed prose	Masnawī

Additional :—

page	*line*	*read*	*for*
100	16	475 A. H.	425 A. H.
102	24	add after comma :—	'a descendant of'
118	7	made	born
126	3 (f.n.)	successor	contemporary
191	20	sometime after	long before
193	9/15 (Ind.)	Al-nukatī	Alankatī
196	7	Khusraushāh	Bahrāmshāh
196	17	father	son
208	12	'Alā'uddīn Mas'ūd's	Ibrāhīm's
330	18, 20, 24	Gobind Rāi	Khānde Rāi
373	19	امیر تاج‌الدین سنجر	سلطان سنجر
384	9	Khānīs	Khān
483	11/12	a poet born and bred at Delhi, who lived	a poet.....India



GOVERNOR'S CAMP
CENTRAL PROVINCES

No. P.S. 10/18

22nd April, 1935.

Dear Mr Ghani

I am directed to return herewith the Chapters of your book submitted for His Excellency's approval.

I am to add that His Excellency has perused them with much pleasure, and offers you his congratulations on the work.

Yours sincerely
[signature]



Pre-Mughal Persian IN HINDŪSTĀN

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ADVENT OF THE MUGHAL RULE

By

SHAMS U'L 'ULAMĀ AL-ḤĀJ
MUḤAMMAD 'ABDU'L GHANĪ
M.A. (ALLĀHĀBĀD), M.LITT. (CAMBRIDGE)
Head of the Department of Arabic and Persian in the University of Nāgpūr, C. P.

WITH A FOREWORD
by
SIR SHĀH MUḤAMMAD SULAIMĀN,
M.A., D.SC., LL.D.

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The late Hon'ble Justice Dr. Sir Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., LL.D.

who very kindly contributed a *Foreword* to this volume before his sad and untimely demise on 12th March, 1941

IN MEMORIAM

While this book
was yet in the Press,
the news of the death
of Sir Shāh Muḥammad
Sulaimān, which occurred on
the 12th of March 1941, came
through. The deceased had written
an illuminating Foreword to this
book, but it is much to be regretted
that he passed away before he could see it
in a final shape. It is hardly necessary for
the author to speak of his great qualities as
a judge and his wonderful insight and scholarship
in Oriental Learning. The author enjoyed the
unique privilege of discussing with him certain
fundamental and basic points in this book,
which, till then, had not been fully
investigated and brought to light; and
hereby he wishes to pay a tribute of
homage and respect to the memory
of one who was among the truly
remarkable intellectual figures
in contemporary Indian life,
and a great supporter
and lover of research
in arts and science.

FOREWORD

By

THE HONOURABLE

SIR SHĀH MUḪAMMAD SULAIMĀN

M.A., LL.D., D.SC.

Judge, Federal Court, India.

Vice-Chancellor
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH.

FOREWORD

It is a great pleasure to me to write a Foreword to [redacted] Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindūstān" by Shamsul 'Ulamā Professor 'Abdul Ghanī, which is the first comprehensive and critical survey in English of the growth of Persian language and literature in India. The subject furnishes an important and hitherto untrodden field of research, and promises to open a new chapter in the History of the literatures of Hindūstān for a further deep study and thorough investigation by orientalists.

The author has endeavoured to establish in this work certain fundamental propositions in regard to the Persian of Hindūstān, and has attempted to remove misconceptions of European orientalists concerning them. It is his claim that India was entirely on a level with Persia in the use and cultivation of Persian language and literature; and he maintains that the efforts of India's poets and prose-writers, in almost every period of history, from the time of Sulṯān Maḫmūd of Ghaznī down to the reign of Akbar the Great, were no less important and valuable than those of the Persian scholars themselves. It must be admitted that as both poetic and prose styles in India were not only based on Persian models, but

even improved upon by Indian writers, there could be no real justification for a sharp line of demarcation between "Persian Persian" and "Indian Persian", a somewhat arbitrary distinction which has always operated to the prejudice of India.

The learned author begins with a consideration of cultural relations between Persia and India, and between the 'Arabs, the Persians and the Hindūs. He has emphasized the close cultural harmony that existed between the two major communities of Hindūstān during the Mughal and the pre-Mughal days of administration. Professor 'Abdul Ghanī's investigations into the lives and works of eminent men like al-Bīrūnī, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, Abul Faraj Rūnī, Khusrau, Ḥasan and the great Ṣūfi saint Khawāja Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī Iṣfahānī, who settled and died at Ajmēr, are the fruits of a painstaking and laborious research.

The author has narrated historical data in support of his theme that in certain periods of the Indian history the centre of learning *thrice* shifted from Īrān to India, when the eminent poets that arose in the Punjāb gave a lead to their Persian contemporaries. The author comes to the interesting conclusion that the cultural contact between India and Persia was of great antiquity and must date back to a period long before the appearance of the Ghaznavīds on the scene.

For a comparison with the Persian literature, a

separate and easily available account of India's own achievements in the field of Persian literature was wanting, and the present work admirably supplies this long-felt need.

NEW DELHI
November 26, 1940

PREFACE

After completing the first *three* volumes of my work on the *History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court* (published by the Indian Press Ltd. Allāhābād), it was severally suggested to me by some worthy friends and colleagues, prominent among whom are Nawāb Dr. Sir Amīn Jang Bahādur, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Secretary to the Niẕām Government, H̱yderābād, Deccan; the Hon'ble Dr. Sir Shāh Muḫammad Sulaimān, LL.D., Bar-at-Law, Ex-Chief Justice, Allāhābād, now Judge, Federal Court of Judicature of India, Delhi, and Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, 'Alīgarh; the late Dr. Sir Muḫammad Iqbāl, Lāhore; Dr. Manṣūr Aḫmad, M.A., PH.D. (Berlin), 'Alīgarh; and my own brother, Professor M. A. Qavī Fānī, M.A. ('Alīg.) of the Lucknow University that I should undertake the writing of a companion volume, dealing with the history of Persian literature in India from the earliest times, that is, from the 'Arab conquest to the advent of the Mughal rule. After some hesitation I accepted their suggestion, as I realised that it was a necessary prelude to my previous work.

The work done already in this field was from Bābur to Akbar. Consequently, a link was needed to connect the study of Persian life and literature under

the Mughals with a previous history of its own, so as to make the subject historically complete. The difficulties in the way were enormous, owing to lack of appreciation and facilities for research on this subject in the C. P. After much patient and sustained effort, however, I have been able to construct a history of Persian literature in India, as it had been influenced and moulded by Arabic, from the advent of the first 'Arab expedition in Sindh to the Mughal entry in Hindūstān. The materials are drawn from the original sources and the contemporary records of the 'Arab and Persian authors, of which full reference is given in the foot-notes. The reader will obtain a clear view of the growth of "Arabicised Persian" in India in the Pre-Mughal era from a perusal of these pages. The real value of this work is that it has started a fresh inquiry and presented a new phase in the history of Persian literature by establishing certain fundamental truths against the hitherto accepted verdicts and beliefs of some of the accredited modern Persian and English writers in regard to India's output. It will be a revelation to many to find that India of the Pre-Mughal era was at par with Persia, and many a Persian poet of repute came to India and learnt poetry in its Indian setting. Even the best poets of Persia took their cue from the poets that arose in the Punjāb, which remained for centuries the radiating centre of Persian culture in the East. This assertion might sound to many orientalists a

pretentious claim, specially to those who are familiar with the views of European scholars on the nature of Persian literature produced in India. Their judgment is, in fact, based on the opinions expressed by Persian writers, chiefly of the modern era. For example, they maintain that the Persian culture in India has not been integrally connected with the Persian culture as such, and consequently it never rose to the level of Persian culture. Concerning the literature or the writings in the Persian tongue by the Indians, the Western critics maintain that the literature produced in India remained *Indian*, meaning thereby that it was inferior to the Persian literature produced in Persia. To show this alleged inferiority, they have been in the habit of using the expression *Indian Persian*, contrasting it with *Persian Persian.*

This work begins by challenging the opinion cited above in regard to the Persian of our land. In fact, the Indian scholars of the nineteenth century never paid any serious attention to this question, probably for the reason either that they never suspected any injury to India, or that the voice of their European and Persian critics was not heard so loud as to disturb their equanimity and equilibrium of mind. Time rolled on, and with it went forth the conviction, like passive realism, until the nineteenth century closed and the twentieth century dawned with a brighter outlook and a wider and more real quest for the search of facts. Consequently, the belief

that had gained ground began to be shaken, and attempts were made by some indigenous writers to unravel the truth by going deep into the question. The pioneer work in this field was done by India's great scholar, Shiblī Nu'mānī. Every student of Persian knows the tremendous effect Shiblī's Shi'ru'l 'Ajam has had in dispelling the wrong notion about the Persian of Hindūstān. The great Shiblī, however, did not live long to show the exact nature and the grandeur of Persian literature of India to the world. The task still awaits completion.

India's contribution to the enrichment of Persian, both in form and content, and its advancement as a classical and International literature, is so substantial that Persia cannot at any stage of its development afford to neglect it. We see that from the very commencement of the Ghaznavīd rule, the whole tract of land, extending from the borders of Delhi to the centres of learning in Persia, was one long connecting chain dominated by Persian influence and culture, and specially Persian poetry, which represented fully the Persian thought and Persian learning. All the Provinces and cities lying in this zone were swayed by one civilization and one literature which was Persian, and this had penetrated so deep into the heart of the population, from the man in the street to the king on the throne, that the distinction between Ghaznī and Lahore or Khurāsān and the Punjāb was never felt. Ghaznī, being the capital

seat of Maḥmūd's vast Persian and Indian empire, and the central city of the kingdom, had very close connection with· Hindūstān, specially the Punjāb, and was then actually reckoned among the cities of *Hind.* After the Ghaznavīd rule, this aspect of cultural unity ever kept on developing under the fostering care of the Muslim kings, beginning with the first Ghōrī king to the last great Mughal who sat on the throne of Delhi. The taste of these people for poetry and art, and the custom, fashion, food and dress were all adopted after the Persian manner and style. The Punjāb was the foremost among the Provinces of Hindūstān which became so completely Persianised that the centre of Persian learning and culture *thrice* shifted from Iran to India.

A great reason for Indiā's claim for equality with Persia in classical learning and culture, during the early and the middle ages, is that the Persians from the Pre-Islāmic times used to migrate to the cities of the Punjāb, and settle there. They and their descendants continued to be in close communication with their relations in Persia, and visits were mutually exchanged between them every now and then, which always gave fresh vigour to their genius and taste, and kept the torch of Persian culture burning bright in the Punjāb. In addition to this, fresh bands of Persian scholars kept on migrating to India owing to the better appreciation and scope for their literary productions in the Indian atmosphere. Thus we

see that the Persian culture, which the early and subsequent emigrants brought with them to India, was neither borrowed nor second-hand, but was pure and original in tone. The result was that immediately after the Muhammadan conquest and the establishment of the Muslim rule and influence in upper Hindūstān, the taste of the people here for art, science and literature was found to be rigidly Persian to the core. This process of emigration from amongst the Persian people to India, as already pointed out, had commenced long before the 'Arab conquest of Persia. Thousands of Persian families living in Khurāsān were banned and banished from the country in the Achaemenian period, because of their suspected fidelity to the crown. They came to India, and settled in the districts of Multān, Delhi and specially Lāhore. This great event caused the appearance of an important Persian colony in the Punjāb, which swelled ever afterwards with their descendants and the incoming fresh bands of the Persians. Historians relate that a big city of Persian population had, in the course of time, grown up near Lāhore, from where Mahmūd's grandson, Sultān Ibrāhīm, once caused to be sent *one hundred thousand* Persian settlers to adorn his capital Ghaznī. The Ghaznavīd kings, as also the long line of their successors in India, loved Persian art and literature, and patronized their creators liberally. We read that there were in Mahmūd's attendance no less than *four hundred* poets

of Persian language, whose leader was 'Unṣurī. One can imagine the tremendous cultural influence exerted by an Eastern monarch in those days. Picture the literary atmosphere and the taste for Persian poetry created through his person when he moved about in upper Hindūstān with all his retinue of select poets and scholars in attendance.

The Indian capital of the Ghaznavīd empire was Lāhore which vibrated with the wave of Persian civilization and learning, and became a great emporium of Persian art and culture in the East. The ancestors of the famous *India-born* poets writing in Persian, who carried away the palm from Persia, were also living at Lāhore. They were followed by many others whose poetic greatness was acknowledged by their contemporaries in Persia, and glowing tributes were paid to their genius and composition. Even the leaders of thought in Persia, like Ḥakīm Sanā'ī, Amīr Mu'izzi, Anwarī, Falakī Shīrwānī, and their colleagues at Kāshghar, Balkh, Bukhārā and Samarqand, off and on, bowed to these Indian masters, calling them *teachers of the world in the art of Persian versification*, and closely followed them in style and thought. There was, so to say, no dearth in India of first-rate poets, though the later Persian biographers went to the length of declaring to the world that there arose no poets of consequence in the Pre-Mughal era, except one, Amīr Khusrau. But the fact is that there were many Amīr Khusraus

whom India produced, but they were all denied due recognition by their less generous Persian friends who came long after their forefathers had pronounced a judgment which did not appear palatable to their sons. Their assertions, nevertheless, were supported by reference to no historical source, nor their validity subsequently tested by any European writer. The result was that their verdict passed unchallenged from one author to the other until it became a common place in the modern propagandist literature of Persia to the detriment of India. Even Browne, the well-known English critic and authority on Persian affairs, was misled by such criticism, and differentiated between *Persian Persian* and *Indian Persian.* But he too suspected the unfair treatment meted out to India at the hands of the later Persian biographers when he wrote:

> "Care must be taken not to overlook any poet of originality and talent merely because he has not found favour with the Persian biographers who, especially in their treatment of contemporaries, are apt to be swayed by personal, political, and even religious prejudices and predilections."
>
> (Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion, page 105).

During my stay at Cambridge, I, too, had personal discussions with him, but he would not give

weight to anything which was contrary to what the Persian historians had said on the subject. Vide his views in an autograph note to the C. P. Government recommending my leave:—

FIRWOOD,
TRUMPINGTON ROAD,
CAMBRIDGE.

Sir,

I am in general agreement with the consideration put forward by Sir Geoffrey Butler & Mr. Buckler in favour of allowing Professor Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Ghani to remain here for another year, in order to complete the period required of Research Students before they can proceed to a degree.

Professor 'Abdu'l-Ghani appears to cling to what I regard as the delusion that Indian Persian is better than Persian Persian — a matter of constant conflict between us.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

Edward G. Browne

The Last sentence which reads:—

> "Professor 'Abdu'l Ghanī appears to cling to what I regard as the delusion that Indian Persian is better than Persian Persian—a matter of constant conflict between us......"

is noteworthy. My whole contention was that *Indian Persian* generally was in no way inferior to *Persian Persian*, and in certain periods of history was even superior to the latter in thought and diction,

which, in Persia itself, had deteriorated owing to lack of patronage and dearth of first-rate poets. Had Browne lived to read through the pages of this volume, his views, I feel certain, would have been greatly modified as they did to some extent, when my dissertation on *Mughal Persian* was completed and presented to the University.

Happily, the data, on which the real merit of India's poets and authors is to be based, survive to this day, and the integrity of Persian idiom with the loftiness of style and diction, which received the highest encomiums in contemporary Persia, may be seen still in their works. All this, in fact, was due to India's long and abiding connection with the Persian centres of learning, through social and blood relationship channels. The later Persian biographers, who were not privy to this mystery, were baffled by this phenomenon, and thought its convenient solution lay in minimising India's importance by methods which may be analysed as follows:—

(*i*) by attributing a Persian home to India-born poets who were acknowledged in Persia itself as masters, like Abdul Faraj Rūnī (Lāhore), Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān Lāhaurī, Mazhar Tattawī, Khwājah 'Amīd Dehlevī, Khwājah Abū 'Alī Multānī, Saif-uddīn Dabīr Dehlevī and others;

(*ii*) by taking very little notice of the works of

many a first-rate indigenous poet and a new-comer who later developed his art here, and threw a challenge to Persia, like Khwājah Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī Iṣfahānī, Ustādush-Shu'arā Ruknī Shihāb Mehmạrah Badāūnī, Maulānā 'Iṣāmuddīn *'Iṣāmī* Dehlevī, Ḥamīduddīn Mas'ūd Shālikōb Lāhaurī, Malik ul 'Allām Shamsuddīn Dabīr, Malik ul Kalām Amīr Fakhruddīn 'Amīd Naunakī, Bahā'uddīn Ooshī Dehlevī, Khwājah Ḥasan Sanjarī Dehlevī, Khwājah Badruddīn Shāshī (better known as Badr i Chāch), Qāẓī Ẓahīr Dehlevī, Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh Dehlevī and many others;

(*iii*) by an adverse criticism of all such Persian emigrants as perfected their poetic art in Indian surroundings; and

(*iv*) by a faint half-hearted praise of those poets who had the backing of a strong public opinion both in India and Persia.

These four methods of the later Persian biographers have been fully scrutinized in this book, and the real truth established, which gives India its rightful place and makes it the honoured equal of Persia.

The gigantic proportions of this self-imposed work have been brought home to the reader. In the discharge of this onerous yet necessary task, an

almost utter lack of research facilities has added to the many other difficulties of place and circumstance. Although I have spared no pains in securing the highest degree of accuracy, yet I am conscious of the many shortcomings and imperfections of my work, for which I crave the indulgence of my critical reader. *He who undertakes to write a flawless book writes nothing* is a well known maxim which is universally true. With these words I commend my book to my appreciative readers.

There remains the pleasant duty of expressing my thanks to my brother Prof. M. A. Qavī Fānī, M.A. ('Alīg), of the Lucknow University; to my worthy colleague Mr. J. N. W. Paul, M.A., F.R.H.S. (London), Deputy Director of Public Instruction, C. P. and Berār; and to my learned friends, Professor Hādī Hasan, B.A. (Cantab), PH.D. (London) and Maulānā Shaikh 'Abdu'l 'Azīz Maiman, Heads of the Departments of Persian and Arabic in the University of 'Alīgarh, for their great encouragement, appreciation and valuable help.

Lastly, my thanks are due to The Allāhābād Law Journal Company Ltd., Allāhābād, for their unfailing courtesy and care with which they have printed this work, the completion of which has been a source of real pleasure and satisfaction to me.

ROBERTSON COLLEGE
JUBBULPORE
October 18, 1940

Shams u'l 'Ulamā al-Hāj
Muhammad 'Abdu'l Ghanī

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ON

THE SIGNS USED FOR DETERMINING ARABIC AND PERSIAN CHARACTERS OF SIMILAR SOUND IN THE TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL NAMES AND WORDS OCCURRING IN THIS BOOK

(*With apology to scholars*)

An important problem yet to be solved in the transliteration of oriental names and in the transcription of original Persian and Arabic texts is the successful employment of special signs to distinguish between the alphabetical characters of similar sound. For example, the sound of ث , س and ص is expressed by a simple 'S' in English; that of ذ , ض ز and ظ by 'Z'; of ح and ہ by 'h'; and of ث and ط by a soft 't' as in *thrill.* Indian scholars who have received their training in English Universities, and those who have learnt the English method in India, follow in some cases a most unnatural system. For instance, *one single letter* ث as in مثنوی is represented by *two letters* in the English alphabets, with the help of a third sign '—' underneath them (as in 'th'), which confounds the reader more than it helps him. Similarly, the sound of ظ as in نظامی is expressed by 'dh', that

of چ by 'ch', of خ by 'kh', of غ by 'gh' and of ش by 'sh'. The correct and simple method would be to employ *one single letter* to convey *one single sound* as is done in the Continental and other Universities of the world.

This note is a warning against the odd method of transcribing مثنوی as 'mat͟hnawī' instead of the simple 'masnawī' or نظامی as 'Nid͟hāmī' instead of 'Nizāmī'. It may here be pointed out that in England the use of 't͟h' (denoting ث) and 'd͟h' (denoting ظ) was perhaps needed for the guidance of the average English student who is not very familiar with Arabic and Persian script. But in India such is not the case, and hence recourse to this practice is not at all necessary, since the average Indian student well knows that there is ث in مثنوی (not س or ص), and ظ in نظامی (not ذ, ز or ض).

What is virtually needed is that a separate uniform method specially suited to India, should be adopted by Indian scholars, and the problem be solved once for all by a special Committee of distinguished scholars of India meeting in conference. Until such time, however, one must adopt the simplest course or what may appear to him the most convenient and popular in the circumstances for the spelling of oriental names and words.

For the guidance, therefore, of the general reader I have adopted special signs as follows, in close conformity with the International system:

	Capital	Small
س	S	s
ث	Ṣ	ṣ
ص	S̱	s̱
ز	Z	z
ذ	Ẓ	ẓ
ظ	Z̲	z̲
ض	Z̤	z̤
ه	H	h
ح	H̱	ẖ
ت	T	t
ط	T̲	ṯ

The letters چ-خ-غ and ش continue to be represented by 'ch', 'kh', 'gh' and 'sh' respectively for the purpose of this book.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Section I—Preliminary remarks; a passing reference to the cultural relations between Persia and India; relation between Arabic and Persian in the wake of the 'Arab conquest of Persia.

India and Persia have been neighbours, and have had cultural connections with each other since times immemorial through the contacts of their civilizations and literatures. Their cultures, though distinct today, bear the same relationship to each other as exists between two sisters married in distant and different homes. The same is true of their spoken tongues, Sanskrit and Persian, which belong to the same family and bear a close kinship.

Time was when these languages possessed similar form and style, and were governed by similar aims, spirit and tendencies. The origin of these languages is identical, a fact which is a commonplace of philology and linguistics. Nevertheless, what has not been realized fully is that when India, for the first time, heard the Sanskrit accents from the lips of her Aryan conquerors, she really was listening to the music of Persian speech. The Aryan race had

spread out to India and Persia from a common centre somewhere in Central Asia. Thus it is easy to look upon the advent of Persian proper in India as the settling down of a person in his sister's home.

We find that almost all the invading or conquering races, except of course the 'Arabs, who had entered India in ancient and mediaeval times, did so through the Passes lying on the North-Western frontier. This means that they came to India speaking either Persian or a language highly coloured by the Persian idiom, owing to the dominating influence of Persian civilization in Central Asia. Hence it is obvious that Persian civilization and language have had more than just a superficial association with the culture of Hindūstān for some thousands of years. The one has vitally affected the culture of the other. "It seems pretty certain," says Browne, "that the Indians and Persians were once united in a common Indo-Irānian race located somewhere in the Punjāb."[1] The Persians, long before the rise of Islām, had close relations with India, and their monarchs, until the Sāsānian regime, wielded authority over the Western Punjāb and the Provinces of Sindh and Balūchistān. In the Achaemenian period (B.C. 521), when the Persian empire was at its zenith, King Darius, the Great, had deputed one of his officers, Scylax (the Greek Admiral), to discover the sea-route to India.

[1] A Literary History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 33.

This discovery finally led to the conquest of Sindh, part of the Punjāb and Afghānistān, and their annexation to the Persian empire. The relations thus established between the two great peoples of Persia and India evoked a natural regard for each other's culture, language and mode of living.

There is further evidence to show that the *Jāts* of the Punjāb, whom the 'Arab historians have styled زُط (*Zuṭ*), formed part of the Persian army which fought with the 'Arabs in the famous battle of Nihāwand under Yezd-gurd[1] III, the last Sāsānian

[1] It is a compound of یزد and گُرد. The former is a contraction of یزدان (the god of Virtue); while the latter indicates a *warrior* or a *soldier*. Hence the expression *Yezd-gurd* means a *soldier of the god of Virtue*, which is almost similar to *Ghāzī* or *Knight*. Another reading is *Yezd-i-gird*, which has been commonly adopted by European writers. The word گِرد is derived from a Pahlawī verb meaning 'to make' or 'create'. Hence, the expression means 'god-made', which as a name or title of a Persian king is less significant. Originally, گُرد in old Persia was a title of highest honour given to a national hero who, in popular esteem, was held equal or even superior to the king. For instance, Bahrām, Hūmān, Rustam, Suhrāb and other great heroes of Persia have been addressed by Firdausī thus:

بر آویخت چوں شیر بہرام گُرد   به نیزه برایشاں یکے حمله بُرد

بپاسخ چنیں گفت هومان گُرد   که بنمود سہراب را دست بُرد

چو آتش پراگنده شد پیلتن   درختے بجست از در باب زن

king of Persia.[1] Besides, thousands of Persian families residing in Khurāsān had been expelled from their country by the order of the Persian king Afrāsiyāb. They fled to the Punjāb, and found a home and shelter in the districts round about Lāhore, Multān and Delhi. Their permanent settlement here gave rise to an important city of Persian population which swelled with their descendants and the incoming fresh bands of the Persians[2]. This is the first great instance of direct historical connection of Persia with India, which sowed the seed of Persian culture securely in Indian soil. It also explains why the Persian speech in India had a marvellous growth, and remained intact for centuries, rivalling its glories in Persia itself. Apart from this

° یکی نرّه گورے بزد بر درخت   که درچنگِ او پرِ مرغے نه سخت
چو بریاں شد از هم بکند و بخورد   زمغز استخوانش بر آورد گُرد

ازاں پس خرو شید سهراب گُرد   همی شاه کاؤس را بر شمُرد

It was also a proud title for the king. Cf. Ferīdūn, the mighty monarch of Persia, who defeated Ẓaḥḥāk, was called گُرد in the following verse:

شنیدی کجاز افریدونِ گُرد   ستمکاره ضحّاک تازی چه بُرد

[1] Tirmiẓī, Chap. "Abwāb ul Amṣāl".
[2] Muntakhab ut Tawārīkh, Vol. I, p. 35.

earliest relationship which existed in the Pre-Islāmic era, we see that a still closer bond of union subsisted between the peoples of the two great countries at the birth of the Prophet of Islām and at the landing of the ʻArabs in Sindh.

Persia's fondness for the Sanskrit story of *Kalīlah-Damnah* and the favour shown by the Persian monarch, Anūshīrwān the Great, in deputing a special envoy, Barzawaih, who was a scholar of Persian and Sanskrit, to secure Persian translations of this and several other books of Sanskrit, is a fact of history. The editor of the Arabic version of *Kalīlah-Damnah* describes the great Persian enterprise in the following words:—

[1]ظلّ هذا الكتاب محفوظا فی خزائن ملوک الهند یحرصون علیه حرصهم
علی اثمن الکنوز لا یسمحون لسواهم بالاطلاع علیه غیر ماتقدم من نقله
الی التیبتیة حتی القرن السادس المیلاد لما افضی عرش فارس الی کسری
انوشروان و کان محبا لاسباب الاصلاح و اخذ فی نقل العلم و الادب فبلغه خبر
هذا الکتاب فاستشار خاصة فی رجل یبعث به لهذا المهمة یکون عارفا
باللسانین السنسکریتی والفارسی مع علم و فلسفة فاختاروا له طبیبا فیلسوفا
اسمه برزویه ابن ازهر فاسرالیه امرالکتاب و حرضه علی نقله و نقل مایتیسر
من علوم الهند التی لیس فی اللغة الفارسیة شی منها وامدّه بما یحتاج الیه
فی سبیل ذلک الغرض فسافر برزویه بعشرین جرابا من المال کل جراب فیه
عشرة آلاف دینار حتی قدم بلاد الهند فجعل یجالس الحکماء و یسئال

[1] Introduction, p. 22, Cairo.

خواص الملک و جلساءه من العلماء و الفلاسفة و یوهمهم انه رجل غریب قدم بلادهم لطلب العلم والادب و انه محتاج الی معونتهم و لم یزل کذلک وهو یبحث سرّا عن مکان ذلک الکتاب فی خبر طویل استخدم فیه دهاءه و درایته حتی ظفر بالکتاب و نقله من اللسان الهندی السنسکریتی الی اللسان الفارسی و هو یومئذ الفهلوی و نقل غیره من کتب العلم و عاد الی انو شیروان فاجازه بالاموال و البسه التاج و اجلسه علی سریره تشریفا له و زیادة فی اجلاله –

"This book was preserved in the treasures of the kings of Hindūstān and guarded like a most cherished treasure. No one could get a clue to it until the sixth century A. D., when the throne of Persia passed to Kisrā Anūshīrwān. During this period once only was access had to it when it was translated into the Tibetan language. He loved peaceful means and the pursuit of knowledge and literature. The news of this book reached his ears, and so he consulted his courtiers on the problem of finding a man who could be sent on this enterprise—one who should be well versed in Sanskrit and Persian, and be a sound student of philosophy. So they selected for him a physician who was also a philosopher whose name was Barzawaih ibn Azhar. Anūshīrwān then divulged to him the secret of his desire for this book, and urged him to secure a copy thereof and also of other sciences of India which he could obtain access to and of which nothing then existed in the Persian language. He provided him with the necessary material for the achievement of this object. So

Barzawaih set out on his journey with twenty bags of provisions in each of which there were ten thousand *dīnārs* until he arrived in India. Here he used to sit in the company of the learned, and sought to find out the favourites of the king and his chief associates from among the learned and the philosophers; and he made them understand that he was a stranger who came to their cities for the purpose of acquiring their knowledge and literature, and that he needed their help and support. He continued to do this, and secretly tried to discover, in the course of his long inquiries and searches, the location of this book which was the custodian of their intellect and wisdom, till at last he succeeded in gaining access to it and in translating it from Sanskrit into Persian or *Pahlawī*. Besides this, he copied other books of Hindī learning, and returned with them to Anūshīrwān who rewarded him with cash and property, and put on his head the crown, and made him sit on his throne to exalt his rank and add to his glory."

The present work, however, does not concern itself with the earliest and almost forgotten relationship which existed between India and Persia in ancient times. It restricts its inquiry to the age which witnessed the appearance of Arabicised Persian on the stage of Indian life in the wake of the Muslim conquest of India. It is, thus, primarily concerned with the distinctive nature of the culture and the literature which the Arabicised Persian has been instrumental in

bringing into existence in India.

We have characterised the language that came to India along with the Muslim conquerors as *Arabicised Persian*. This observation needs some explanation.

Picture the world as it was a little before the rise of the 'Arabs. By the end of the sixth century A. D., the world had witnessed revolutions everywhere, some of them being epoch-making, as every student of history knows. Restricting our attention to the cultural upheavals and changes made possible by these revolutions, the following phenomena stand out prominently. The early, perhaps the original, Persian had disappeared from Persia, and a rapid succession of dynasties had effected a complete transformation in matters cultural, religious and linguistic for the Persian people. In India, one finds that the classical Sanskrit ceases to be a living language and a new language called *Prākrit* becomes the common speech. Europe, at this time, was fast sinking into a deep slumber from which it was to rise at the Renaissance.

Such was the state of affairs all over the world with regard to culture, when the 'Arabs ventured out of their desert home into the wide world, with the banner of Islām in their hands. It could be easily imagined what a time of upheaval this period of revolution must have been for the languages and cultures of the then civilised world. In the inundation caused by the rising 'Arab power, reinforced by

religious zeal, not merely did the principalities such as Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco, Sudān and Zanjbār suffer shipwreck, but even the civilization of these lands was completely swept away. This, however, cannot be said of Persia. Persian culture and language alone escaped shipwreck. Perhaps it was not possible for the 'Arab culture to swamp the culture of Persia. In fact, Persian, which firmly resisted the Arabic advance, refused to merge itself into Arabic culture. The critical times which Persian had to pass through for its survival, compels recognition of the fact that the Persian language possesses some unusual virility and virtues to have resisted the cataclysmic onslaughts of Arabic. In this connection we ought to bear in mind that Persian is an off-shoot of the Aryan language; while Arabic is of Semitic descent. Thus the difference between the two is one of kind rather than of degree. Barring the interchange of nouns, they are distinct from each other in their syntax and verbs, with little possibility of modifying each other.

With the end of the Rāshidiyyah Caliphate and the break-up of the kingdom of Medīnah, the Umayyids set up their throne in Syria, which had been for a long time a noted centre for classical learning, particularly Greek and Latin. When Syria became an 'Arab principality, the greatest benefit in the way of culture she received from her new masters was provision for recitals from the Holy Qur'ān and from

the Traditions of the Holy Prophet, while at the same time a stimulus was given to Arabic poetry. Thus says the 'Arab historian, 'Abdu'l Raẖmān al Maghribī, on the authority of Qāẓī S̱ā'id Undulūsī:

قال القاضی صاعد بن احمد الاندلسی ان العرب فی صدر الاسلام لم تعن[1] بشئی من العلوم الا بلغتها و معرفة احکام شریعتها. . . . .فهذه کانت حال العرب فی الدولة الامویة –

> Qāẓī S̱ā'id bin Aẖmad Undulūsī said, "Verily the 'Arabs in the beginning of Islām did not pay attention to any branch of knowledge except their own literature and the study of the commandments of religion; and such was the condition of the 'Arabs during the rule of the Umayyids."

The inevitable effect of such an educational system was the quick replacement of the classical learning of Greece and Rome, and their civilization in Syria by those of Arabia: Arabic becoming, in due course, the language of the Syrians, whether Muslims, Jews or Christians. What is true of Syria is equally true of other lands conquered by the 'Arabs. The impact of Arabic on the language of the 'Arab-conquered territories resulted either in the total disappearance of the native tongues or in their complete transformation. For an illustration of the total disappearance

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, Chap. Daulat ul 'Abbāsīn.

of a language as a result of the superimposition of Arabic, the reader may be reminded that the language of Egypt and Tripoli was Coptic before the ʿArab conquest of these lands, yet there was little trace of Coptic left soon after the ʿArab occupation, and Arabic, instead, became the court language.

In regard to the way in which the language of the ʿArab conquerors and settlers influenced and transformed the native tongues of the conquered lands, the present linguae of Madagascar, Jāvā, Mālay, Malābār and Sindh may be examined. The influence of Arabic is clearly noticeable on the language of each of these territories, even after a period of thirteen hundred years.

The ʿArabs attempted a similar cultural experiment in Persia also, though with little success. The Persian language, because of its inherent qualities, such as softness, enchanting accent and melody, gradually enslaved ʿArab settlers in Persia, and drew them further and further away from their mother tongue. They eagerly accepted the Persian speech as their language for business or art. Surprising though it may appear, a considerable number of Persian words, expressions and phrases crept into Arabic itself, as any Arabic lexicon will testify. More striking still is the manner in which the ʿArab conquerors in Persia allowed themselves to be conquered by Persian in regard to culture and literary art, a phenomenon not unlike what happened to

Rome after she conquered Greece. The cultural relation of Persia with Arabia is a case of the captive capturing the captor.[1]

The influence of Persian over Arabic, as a matter of fact, had begun to be felt even before the rise of Islām. For a justification of this remark, one has to notice Persian words and ideas used in the verse of the un-lettered 'Arab poets. Persian words and Persian sentiments found their way in the Arabic of Arabia at the time when the Ghassāns held sway over the north-western borders of Arabia, and eastern Arabia was ruled by the descendants of Nu'mān and Kandah. The Ghassāns were under Roman influence, whereas the rulers of Eastern Arabia owed allegiance to the Sāsānīds. The religion of the former was Christianity, and that of the latter Zoroastrianism tinged with belief in Greek mythology and Greek conception of deities. Through the agency of these two 'Arab kingdoms, the social and cultural tendencies of Greece, Rome and Persia were at work, and their influence extended far beyond their boundaries from the coasts of Arabia down to Yemen to the extreme South-West. But it is strange that Arabic did not assimilate as many Greek and Latin words and idioms as those of Persian. A fairly large number of Persian expressions and sentiments had become part of the texture of the Arabic

[1] Ibid, Muqaddimah.

language even before the rise of Islām in Arabia. For example, the word مَرج in Arabic is derived from the Persian word مَرغ ; سراج from چراغ ; لجام from لگام ; مِسک from مشک ; خَوذة from خود ; طبر from تبر ; باذَق from باده ; جَوهر from گوهر ; کِسری from خسرو (plural اکاسرة) ; أسطوانة from ستون ; مَوبَذ from مُوبد ; فِیل from پیل (plural فِیَلَة) ; ناخذاة from ناخدا (which is in reality ناوخدا); قِفتان from خفتان ; جِزیَة from گزیه ; بردج from برده ; جو سمان from آسمان گون ; خندق from کنده ; طنبورة from دنبه بره ; دَرقاعة from درگاه ; جَمان from کمان ; صُرنایة from سرنای ; مَیفَختَج from می پخته ; رَزدَق from رسته ; جَوزَر from گوساله ; زنجبیل from زنجفیل ; نافجة from نافه (plural نوافج) ; and words such as بُستان , فلفل , ایوان , تخت , فرمان , بفته , خنجر , تُرنج , تاج , قند and many others had been definitely imported into Arabic, prior to the days of the Holy Qur'ān[1].

[1] The Persian word مَرغ (from which is formed مَرغزار) was identified as مَرج in Arabic, and its plural مُروج was formed in accordance with Arabic grammar. The historian, Mas'ūdī, gave the name مروج الذهب to one of his famous historical works. The words جِزیة , فِیل , مِسک , زنجبیل and سِراج are used in the Qur'ān, cf.:—

Immediately after the advent of Islām, when the 'Arabs as a nation had no love or use for the Sāsānian culture, the 'Arab poets began to make use of Persian expressions and sentiments in their compositions. This assertion finds its proof in the elegy of the well-known 'Arab poet, Yazīd ibn Mufarrigh of

(i)	حتی یعطوا الجزیة عن ید وهم صاغرون	Chap.	10,	Rk.	10
(ii)	الم تر کیف فعل ربک باصحاب الفیل	,,	30	,,	30
(iii)	یسقون من رحیق مختوم ختامه مسک	,,	30	,,	8
(iv)	و یسقون فیها کاساً کان مزاجها زنجبیلا	,,	29		
(v)	تبارک الذی جعل فی السماء بروجا وجعل فیها سراجا و قمرا منیرا –	,,	19	,,	4

لِجام is found recorded in the Traditions and the works of the early poets, cf:

عن ابی هریرة قال قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم من سئل عن علم علمه ثم کتمه اُلجِمَ بلجام من نار –

(Mishkāt, Kitāb ul'Ilm)

Also, cf. the verse:

وماء آسن برکت علیه   کان مناخها ملقی لِجام

تَاجْ occurs in a *qasīdah* of 'Umar ibn Kulşūm, cf.:

و سیّدِ معشر قد توّجوه   بتاج الملک یحمی المُجحِرینا

فِلْفِلْ is used by Imra'ul Qais in the following verse:—

تری بعر الآرام فی عرصاتها   وقیعانها کانه حب فلفل

Other words are common in the writings of the 'Arab poets of the first century and the pre-Islāmic days.

Yemen, who wrote after the invasion of the border lands of India by Ziyād's son, 'Abbād, in 59 A.H. Witness one of Ibn Mufarrigh's verses in the elegy just named:

[1]كم بالجروم و ارض الهند من قدم و من سرابيك قتلى لا هم قبروا

What a large number of followers in the tropical regions and in India's land,
And from among soldiers, lost their lives, who were denied even a tomb!

In this verse, جُروم is the plural of جَرم which is the Persian گرم in Arabic dress; and similarly سرابيك is the Arabic rendering of the Persian word سرهنگ. But the word سرهنگ in its original form is also used by the 'Arab historians.[2] This should serve as an illustration of the manner in which Persian words invaded the Arabic vocabulary. It further points out to the fact that Persian words entered the Arabic vocabulary and came to India through the agency of the Arabic language. In the works written by the Persians in Arabic, one comes across countless Persian terms without any modification in their original form. For example, Avicenna, in his works on

[1] Balāẕurī, Futūḫ ul Buldān, Chapter on Sindh.

[2] Cf: و وصل عمادالدولة سرهنگ معاونكين الى واسط و منها الى النيل فى شهر رمضان

(Tārīkh Āl Saljūq, p. 71, Egypt).

medicine, makes use of such terms as البستانى , السلجم , النيم برشت , الفلفل and the like with the Arabic signification of ال prefixed to them. Also, he uses دارفلفل which is a pure Persian compound, even without the Arabic sign.[1] As regards the Persian sentiments in Arabic literature, one should read the elegiac poems of Abū Dulāmah, Buhturī and Mutanabbī. These poems are impregnated with Persian thought, and are composed in the Persian manner after the pattern of conventional elegiac odes. To make this point more clear and definite, it may be pointed out that the Arabic elegy is content with an account of the dead hero's virtues, such as valour, lineage and hospitality, to preserve his memory in the world. But on the other hand, the aforementioned 'Arab poets exhibit Persian colour in their elegies in a striking manner. They are fond of such imagery as "the cloud shed tears", "the sun sprinkled blood on the earth through its rays," "the eye wept, and people smeared their heads with dust," "they tore their hair", "they wore mourning dress, and drenched it with tears of blood" and many other idioms or forms of imagery which

[1] Cf: اما البزور فمثل بزر السلجم والفوتنج البستانى والفلافل و دار فلفل

(Al Qānūn, Vol. III, p. 430, Lucknow).

Also, of:

والطف منها اجنحة الفراريج والطياهيج والنيم برشت الرقيق القوام

(Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 37).

resemble Persian conceits, as is evidenced in the national custom of mourning in Persia, which Firdausī has depicted in his immortal epic. Witness the scene on the death of Suhrāb at the hands of Rustam, who lived in the Achaemenian period (B.C. 550); therein one finds several lines which enshrine the ancient custom of Persian mourning:

به پرده سرای آتش اندر زدند   همه لشکرش خاک برسر زدند
فغانش زایوان به کیوان رسید   همی زار بگریست هرکاں شنید
تنش را بداں تا مداراں نمود   تو گفتی که از چرخ برخاست دود
بپوشید آں جامهٔ نیلگوں   همه نیلگوں غرق گشته بخوں

Similar sentiments are to be found in an ode of the 'Arab poet, Abū Dulāmah, which shows the steady influence of Persian culture on the 'Arab writers. This ode is an elegy inasmuch as it refers to the death of the Caliph Ja'far al Mansūr 'Abbāsī and is at the same time a congratulatory poem in so far as it refers to his son Muhammad al Mahdī's accession to the throne. The following verses from this ode will bear on the point we have noticed:

عيناي واحدة ترى مسرورة.   باميرها جذلى واخرى تذرف
تبكى و تضحک تارة و يسوءها   ما انكرت و يسرها ما تعرف
فيسوءها موت الخليفة محرما   ويسرها ان قام هذا يخلف
ما ان رأيت كما رأيت ولا ارى   شعرا اسرحه و آخر انتف
هذا حباه الله فضل خلافة   ولذاک جنات النعيم تز خرف

I have two eyes: one is full of joy,
Because of my Caliph, and the other weeps;
It weeps and expresses joy betimes, and what causes it to grieve
Is that which it considers ill, and what pleases it is that which it considers good;
So, the death of the Caliph Manṣūr, which occurred while he was in the pilgrim's dress, grieves the one,
And al-Mahdī's succession to the Caliphate pleases the other;
What I have seen now, I did not see before, nor shall I see hereafter,
That I comb my hair with joy on the one hand, and tear it in grief on the other;
May God grant this king the excellence of the Caliphate,
And for that king (the deceased), may Paradise be adorned.

The works of Mutanabbī contain sometimes verses the texture of which is essentially Persian, for instance:

لم یحک نائلک السحاب و انما　　حمت به فصیبها الرحضاء

The cloud could not rival thy generosity, and for this reason,
It was ashamed, thereby augmenting its temperature; thus the rain, which fell from it, is its perspiration.

Such a subtle fancy or delicate imagery is foreign to the taste of Arabic verse, and such conceits are not to be discovered therein prior to the day when Persian cast its spell on 'Arab authors. In some of the Arabic prose-writings also, which belong to the early period, the Persian metaphors, similes and conceits appear to play a considerable part. This is explained by the fact that some of the authors were either born in Persia, or they had some intimate intercourse with the Persian people, thus leaving them open to the influence of Persian culture. This observation finds its justification in the pages of the recognised historian Imām 'Imāduddīn al Kātib's famous work, the *Tārīkh Āl Saljūq*. Here is a passage from it:—

[1] ولهث يوم الخميس الخميسان يعبّيان ولداعى المنون يلبّيان والشمس
تشكو حرّما تصاعد اليها من زفرات الاحقاد و كانّما شعاعها دم اراقته على الآفاق ؛

> And both the contending armies fought enthusiastically on Thursday, welcoming death all the while; and the Sun was perturbed with the heated breath which rose from the animosity and fierce rage of the contending forces, as if its rays were like drops of blood which it had sprinkled on the Universe.

During the rule of Banū 'Abbās, the influence of

[1] Tārīkh Āl Saljūq, p. 69.

Persian on Arabic began to be felt still more perceptibly. The *Muwallidīns* gave further stimulus to the growing hold of Persian language and culture on the 'Arabs, with the result that the Court of the Caliphs adopted the Persian nobility's style of living along with their acceptance of the Sāsānīd splendour. The well-known Caliph Mu'tasim Billāh 'Abbāsī's affecting the Persian kings' mode of life is a case in point. This Caliph kept eighteen thousand Turkish slaves as his body-guard, and made them wear silk uniform and gold necklaces after the fashion of the Persian kings.[1]

In the days just referred to, the residence of the Caliphs was termed دربار[2]; the pay and Accounts offices were called دفتر[3]; the pleasure-garden was known as بستان[4], the bouquet which the florist presented to his master was called دستنبویه[5]; the slave-girls of the *harem* were named بستان[6] and نرجس; the liquors which they drank in the hour of their mirth at social gatherings was called شراب خسروانی[7],

[1] Cf: وكان المعتصم سديد الراى . . . وكان يتشبه بملوك الاعاجم و بلغ غلمانه الاتراك ثمانية عشر الفا و البسهم اطواق الذهب والديباج –
(Ibn Khaldūn, *Caliphate of Mu'tasim Billāh*).

[2] Āghānī, Vol. XVII, p. 154.
[3] Ibid, „ p. 18.
[4] Ibid, V, p. 85.
[5] Ibid, XVIII, p. 22.
[6] Ibid, „ p. „
[7] Cf. the verse of an 'Arab poet, Ibrāhīm bin Abī Muham-

and their cup-bearer offered them the wine-cup with the words "یامرد می خور"[1]; and for their recreation they played the game of شطرنج or نردشیر[2]. The people nick-named the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr, who succeeded to the caliphate in 136 A.H., ابوالدوانیق[3], (father of farthings) because of his miserliness: the term being coined from the Persian word دانگ meaning *farthing*. The 'Arab poet, Laqīt bin Zurārah, named his daughter, who also

mad Yazīdī of the Court of Caliph al-Māmūn:—

اشرب علی وجه جان شرابک الخسروانی

[1] Cf. another poet Ishāq al Mūsalī writing to Mūsa bin Sālih:

اذا قال لی "یامردمی خر" و کرها علیّ و کنّانی مزاحا بصفعان

(Ibid, Vol. V, p. 80).

[2] The first Ibrāhīm says again:

أن لم یکن عندی غناء ولا عود نعندی القمر بالنرد شیر

(Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 92).

[3] دوانیق is the plural of دانق which is the Arabic form of the persian word دانگ signifying a very small coin. It was also a weight of six grains used in Persia. The historian, Ibn Khaldūn, makes the following observation in regard to this title:

وکان مبخلا یضرب بشحه الامثال فسمی لبخله "ابوالدوانیق"
لمحاسبة العمال والصناع علی الدانق والحبة –

(Account of Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr).

subsequently became a poetess of repute, دُخت نُوس.[1] The pawn in Arabic was called بیذق which is derived from the Persian پیادہ. The 'Arabs in Persia used the Persian term ہزار مرد[2] to designate their brave men. They called their Caliph's throne تختُالمَلِک, using the Persian term تخت with the Arabic word مَلِک. The Persian Princes were named مَرزبان by the 'Arabs, which is again a Persian term; and the landlords were called دِہقان[3] (which is دِہگان[4] or دِہ خان[5]). Also their plurals were formed مَرَازِبہ and دَہاقین in true Arabic style. Again, when they wanted to describe the finery of their dress, they chose to apply to it the

[1] This is the Arabicised form of دُخت نوش which was the name of the daughter of the famous Persian king Kisrā Anūshīrwān, the Great.

('Abdul 'Azīz Memon, Simt ul'La'ālī, Vol. II, p. 835, Cairo, 1936).

[2] It is the epithet of 'Uṣmān bin Hafs bin 'Uṣmān, Cf:

ثم ولی ثغرالسند عمر بن حفص بن عثمان ہزار مرد

(Balāẕurī, Futūh ul Buldān, Chap. 4). Also see Āghānī Vol. XVIII, p. 19.

[3] Firdausī has used this expression in the sense of 'the old man of the village,' who is supposed to be a well-informed and a wise man.

[4] A 'rustic'; 'a true type of a villager.'

[5] The lord of the village.

epithets ازدر and بهارالشجر[1], which are Persian similes; their hospitals were called بیمارستان and مارستان[2]; their gate-keepers were called کیل و در[3]; the quatrain in Arabic prosody is still called دوبیتی. The name given to Constantinople was آستانةالعلیة, which is a compound word formed by prefixing the Persian noun آستانة to the Arabic adjective علیة; the Persian terms کوس and کافرکوبة meaning *drum* and *club*, and the Persian word مرد were commonly used by the 'Arab writers[4]; the word باز meaning *hawk*, شاگرد (معرب شاجرد) and گردن (معرب کَرد) were also borrowed from Persian, and

[1] Cf. the verse of Bakr bin Nattāh of Rashīd bin 'Abdul Malik's reign:

لیالی کنت ازدرالقیان   کأنّ ثیابی بهارالشجر

(Āghānī, Vol. XVII, p. 159).

[2] Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 39.

[3] Cf: وكان و كيلدرالسلطان فی وزارة سعدالملک امیرالقزوینی المعروف بالزکی –

(Tārīkh Āl Saljūq, p. 85).

[4] Cf: فان السلطان عقد علی فخرالدولة بن جهیر دیار بکر و خلع علیه و اعطاهالکوس والعلم –

(Ibid, p. 69).

also Cf:

وَ وَلَّهَنِي وَقعُ الاسِنَّةِ والقنا   وكافر كوباتٍ لها عِجَرٌ قُفْذُ

بایدی رجال ما کلامی کلامهم   یسومونني مَرداًوما انا وَالمَرد

(Jāhiz, al-Bayān wat Tabyīn, Vol. 1, p. 80).

included in Arabic vocabulary;[1] and similarly numerous other words, simple and compound, crept into the Arabic language. Of the Persian words which found their way into the Arabic lexicon, as a result of the religious unity between Arabia and Persia in the earliest period of Islāmic history, some from the works of travel, history, medicine and literature are reproduced here to serve as an illustration:[2]

[1] Cf. the verse: اذا نظر الباز فی عطفه كسته شعا عا علی المنكب
(Mutanabbī, Vol. 1, p. 105, Cairo).

also Cf.: وما كنتُ شاجردًا ولا كن حسبتني
إذا مسحَلٌ سدّى لي القولَ أنطق
(A'shā, Dīwān, Gibb. memo. series, Vol. IV, p. 148).

ضربناه دون الانثيين على الكرد
(فرزدق)
قال ابو منصور الانثيان هنا الاذنان والكرد العنق
(Shihābuddīn Ahmad, Shifā'ul Ghalīl, p. 192).

[2] Among the works consulted in the preparation of this and the previous lists, the following were most helpful:—

1. Balāẕurī's فتوح البلدان
2. Avicenna's طبقات الاطبا and القانون
3. 'Imāduddīn al Kātib Isfahānī's تاريخ آل سلجوق
4. Abul Faraj Isfahānī's آغانی
5. Jāhiz's البيان والتبيين
6. Jawālīqī's المعرب من الكلام الاعجمی and
7. Dr. Arnold's سواء السبيل

Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)	Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)
مَوْزَج	موزه	أُرْجَوان	آرْغوان
فَالُوذْ – فَالُوذَجْ	پالوده	خُنْكار	خون‌کار
بَبَرْ	بَبْر	ترازِي	ترازو
بُنْدُق	فُنْدُقْ	بابونِج	بابونه
جَرْدَبان	گَرْدبان	خِيار شنبر	خيار چنبر
بُودَقَة	بُوتَه	باذنجان	بادنگان
جَرْدَق و جَرْدَقَه	گَرْدَه–گَرْدَه	ترنجبين	ترانگبين
تِيغ	تنباكو	دَخْدار	تخت‌دار
		ديباج	ديبا
بوريّة	بوريه	جاموش	گاوميش
فوتنج	پودينه	جُوغة	چوغه
بَنَفْسَج	بنفشه	نَرْجِس	نرگس
جُلَّنَارْ	گُلنار	جَنْبَازْ	جان‌باز
فنزج	پنجه	جِرْموق	سرموزه
جَوارِشْ	گوارش	دَوراق	دوره
خُشَافْ	خوش‌آب	تُبّان	تنبان
بِرْكار	پَرْگار	جَلَنْسَرين	گُلِ نسرين
بُورَقْ	بُورَه	جَلَنْجَبين	گُلِ انگبين
آبْرِيسَمْ	ابريشم	فَيْلَج	پيله
دَمَق	دمه	جُلّابْ	گُل آب

Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)	Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)
شَشَم	چشم	بَاس	بوسه
سُلَحفاة	سولاخ پای	جُرُبّان	گریبان
مُرْدَاسَنج	مُردار سنگ	نیروز	نوروز
سَتّوق	سه‌تو	طشت	طست
زَنجَفار	شنجرف	سَنجَة	سنگ
سِکبَة	سِرکَه و آب	بُدخانه	بُت‌خانه
صِرمِیّة	سَرمَایَه	شَطَر	چهتر
کُوز	کوزه	کُشتُبان	انگشتوانه
سَرایَة	سَرای	سَقَرقَعه	سکرگه
کاخ	کاخ	زَرجُون	زرگون
روزجاری	روزگاری	جَزَر	گزر
شِیرج	شیره	سَنبَاذج	سگبادہ
دولاب	دول‌آب	زرنیخ - زرنیق	زرنه
صرم	چرم	إسفیداج	سپیده
فُستق	پسته	هَندَسَه	اندازه
زُمُرُّد	زُمُرد	نیزک	نیزه
کمنجة	کمانچه	أُستَاذ	أُستاد
لازورد	لاجورد	سَردَابَة	سرداب
کوخ	کاخ	رَندَج	رنده
کُربَج	گُرَبَه	سَرجین	سرگین

Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)	Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)
شَشمَة	چَشمَه	جُلستان–قُلستان	گلستان
سِرْوَال	شَلوار	هِندام	اندام
بَيَادِي	پیاده	فَرسَخ	فرسنگ
امیر آخور	میر آخور	يارِج	یاره
زَنزَلَخت	آزاد درخت	نِيلَج	نیله
فُولاد	پولاد	أنموذَج	نمونه
سباهي	سپاهی	موميّة	مومیائی
صنار	چنار	صوبج	چوبه
قلندر	قرندل	مَهتار	مهتر
نرجيل	نارگیل	شاكری	چاكر
جُل.	گل	شِيراز	شیرازه
بابوج	پاپوش		

Besides this, many Persian words are to be found in Arabic writings in their original form, for example:—

ترکش – میخانه – نیلوفر – قهرمان – تازه – أفیون – دِهلیز – دَهنه –
تخت روان – زرآب – زندیق – ساده – شلغم – شاهتره – شیره –
شاه – شاهانه – صَندَل – تَبَر – فرزین – کدخدا – کارخانه – مومیا –
کوسه – کَهرَبا – پرسیا و شان –

This is not all. From contemporary writings

it appears that in the reign of Banū 'Abbās, the courtiers not only understood Persian but wrote and conversed in it in their homes, in evidence of which may be cited the name of the 'Arab writer Ibn Manāẓir. In a satire on one of the nobles, Muḥammad bin 'Abdul Wahhāb, he wrote:

[1]وقال الشيخ سر جويه "داء المرء من تحت"

And Shaikh Sarjūyah said, "Man's disease begins from below."

Sarjūyah was an authority on medical matters, and was a recognised physician. When this remark, with its authorship assigned to him, reached his ears, he feared that Muḥammad bin 'Abdul Wahhāb would be offended with him. To check this impression he forthwith betook himself to the nobleman's house, where he found the latter sitting with a large party of men, and gave vent to the following significant Persian speech which was understood by all:

[2]بر کست من نه گفتم آن پسر مناذر گفت

I never said this concerning any one; that was said by Ibn Manāẓir.

The audience at these words burst into laughter.

[1] Āghānī, Vol. XVII, p. 19.
[2] Ibid.

Sarjūyah felt that the audience's laughter was an expression of their distrust in his words. He therefore repeated his speech many times and on oath.

The 'Arab scholars in particular had acquired good knowledge of Persian. Some even taught Arabic literature through the Persian medium. One such instance is Mūsa al-Uswārī who interpreted the verses of the Qur'ān in Persian[1] in public gatherings. Within two hundred years of the 'Arab conquest of Persia, by the time when the linguistic and religious unity between the two nations had assumed a permanency, Persian civilization and ideals began to be clearly perceived in Arabic letters; and the taste for Persianisms became so popular with the poets and scholars of Arabic by the third and the fourth centuries A. H. that Persian verse compositions were freely rendered into Arabic verse in 'Arab territories. Many instances of this from the works of the poets, writing in the days of the Ṯāhirīds and the Sāmānīds, could be cited. Take, for example, the following verses from a Persian ode by Manṣūr bin 'Alī Manṯiqī Rāzi:

یک موی بدز دیدم از دو زلفت   چون زلف زدی ای صنم بشانه
چونانش بسختی همی کشیدم   چون مور که گندم کشد بخانه
با موی بخانه شدم پدر گفت   منصور کدام است ازین دوگانه

They were rendered into Arabic at the instance

[1] Jāḥiẕ, al Bayān wat Tabyīn, Vol. I, p. 196.

of Abul Qāsim Ismā'īl bin 'Abbād bin 'Abbās bin 'Abbād al-Vazīr, surnamed "صاحب کافی الکفاة"

سر قت من طرته شعرة حين غدا يمشطها بالمشاط
ثم تدلحت بها مثقلا تدلج النمل بحب الحناط
قال ابی من و لدی منکما کلا کما یدخل سم الخیاط

Another instance is to be found in the following Persian verses of Muhammad bin Sālih:—

سیم دندانک و بس دانک و خندانک و شوخ
که جهان آنک بر مانبِ او زندان کرد
لبِ او بینی و گوئی که کسے زیرِ عقیق
با میانِ دو گُل اندر شکرے پنهان کرد

They were done into Arabic by Abul Qāsim bin Abul 'Abbās Isfarā'īnī thus:—

فضي ثغر لبيب ضاحک عرم من عشق مبسمه اصبحت مسجونا
بسکر قد رأيت اليوم مبسمه تحت العقيق بذاک الورد مکنونا

Again, Abū Shakūr Balkhī's following Persian quatrain:

از دور بدیدارِ تو نگریستم اندر مجروح شد آن چهرهٔ پُرحسن و ملاحت
وز غمزهٔ تو خستهٔ شد آزرده دلِ من وین حکم قضا نیست جراحت بجراحت

was put into Arabic verse as follows:—

رمیتک عن حکم القضاء بنظرة و مالی عن حکم القصاص مناص
فلما جرحت الخد منکم بمقلتی جرحت فوءادی والجروح قصاص

The following Persian verse from an ode of the Persian poet Shamsuddīn Muhammad Ma'rūfī of the court of the Sāmānīd king, Mansūr bin Nūh, was once read before the 'Arab poet Abul Hasan 'Alī bin Muhammad of Baghdād:

[1] خونِ سپید بارم بر دور خانِ زردم   آرے سپید باشد خونِ دلِ مصعد

He at once gave it an Arabic dress, and incorporated it into one of his odes. The Arabic rendering is as follows:—

وكان دما فا بيضّ منه احمراره   بنارالتصابى حين فاض مصعدّ

Often entire Persian poems and proverbs were rendered into Arabic verse. The author of the *Dumyat ul Qasr* and the famous 'Arab writer, Ṣa'ālibī, have collected some such pieces. Here, for instance, is a line from an ode of Abū 'Abdullāh Abīverdī:—

[2] و من عقعق قدرام مشية قبجة   فانسى ممشاه و لم يمش كالحجل

Some other notable Persian proverbs, which were rendered into Arabic verse, may here be transcribed along with their Arabic dress:—

[1] Yatīmat ud Dahr, Vol. III, p. 164.
[2] Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 25.

Persian	Arabic
....شب است آبستنی بینم چه زاید	الليل حبلى ليس يدرى مايلد
....خاک از تودهٔ کلاں بردار	اذا وضعت على الراءس التراب فضع من اعظم التل ان النفع منه يقع
....آفتاب به گل اندودن نتواں	الشمس با لتطيين لاتعطّى
....چوں آب از سرگذشت چه یک نیزه چه یک دست	اذالماء فوق غريق طما فقاب قناة و الف سواء

Also, instances of mixed Arabic-Persian verses by the 'Arab poets who flourished in the third century A. H. are noticeable. One good specimen by Aswad bin Abī Karīmah is as follows:—

لَـزِمَ الـغُرّامُ ثـوبى بُـكرةً فى يوم سبت[1]

فَتَما يَلتُ عليهم ميل زنكّى بمست (بمستى)

قدحسا الدّاذىَّ صِرفا أو عقارا با يخست (بايخ است)

ثم گفتم ذو زياد ويحكم ان خرّ گفت (خر)

اِنّ جِلدي د بَغتَه اهلُ صنعاءَ بحفت

و أبو عمرة عندى ان كور يذ نمست

جالس اندر مكناد ايا عمذ بنشست

[1] Jāhiz, al-Bayān wat Tabyīn, Vol. 1, p. 80.

Section 2:—The first glimmerings of Persian in India; relations between the 'Arabs and the Hindūs; the unprejudiced mind of the Rājās and the 'Arab conquest of Sindh.

The inevitable effect of the 'Arab fondness for the Persian language, as evidenced by the annexation of Persian terminology to the Arabic vocabulary, was that the two languages found themselves getting into an ever-increasing closer bond. This close relation was felt even in India for the simple reason that the governors of Sindh were appointed and sent from Khurāsān.[1] Soon after the Persian families and the 'Arabs residing in Persia came to Sindh, they found themselves pre-occupied with a taste for the native tongue to such a degree that they even produced poets writing in Hindī, and their works were appreciated by the people and well received at the courts of the Hindū Rājās. The 'Arab families that had settled in Sindh knew Prākrits well, and their poets composed poems both in Hindī and Arabic. Among them may be mentioned a young 'Arab resident of Manṣūrah, the capital of Sindh, who had composed a *qaṣīdah* in the current Prākrit in praise of Rājā Mahrūg of Alūrā,[2] a city on the east bank of

[1] Since the days of the Umayyids, all the Muslim territories east of Arabia were under the sway of the governors of Baṣrah; while the administration of Sindh was entrusted to the rulers of Khurāsān. (Kāmil Ibn Aṣīr.)

[2] Buzurg bin Shahryār, 'Ajā'ib ul Hind, p. 4, Leyden.

the Indus in Upper Sindh. This poem was so much appreciated by the Rājā that he sent a special messenger to escort the young poet to the court, where he was greatly honoured and rewarded. He further translated the Holy Qur'ān into Hindī at the desire of the Rājā, having stayed for three years at the royal court as State guest.[1] The contemporary geographers and historians of 'Arab descent, who travelled through Persia to Hindūstān, have commented on the life of the Muslims in Sindh in those days. They observed that the feeling of amity and fellowship between the Muslims and the Hindūs was so stable that the 'Arabs in Sindh became united with the Hindūs, and followed the Indian customs and ceremonies spontaneously. They took for their wives Indian women, showed their liking for the spoken tongues, and readily adopted the Indian titles and Hindī names.[2] It goes without saying that considerable modifications were effected in the spoken Arabic and the Indian languages current in the districts scattered between Multān and the Arabian sea, obviously as a result of the Hindū-Muslim cultures coming in close contact with each other. The point which emerges from this, which is of interest to us here, is that it was really the Persian language and

[1] Ibid.
[2] Bashshārī, Aḫsan ut Taqāsīm, Chap. on Sind, Leyden, 1906.

culture which took root in Northern and Western India, though, as it were, in subjection to Arabic. Nearly all the 'Arab officials, traders and soldiers, who came to India, did so through Persia, and succumbed to the influence of Persian culture. Bashshārī Muqaddasī, in his description of Sindh, in the *Aḥsan ut Taqāsīm* says that the Persian *Khutbah* of the Dailamites was current in his day in the mosques in Sindh and Multān. This fact is also indicative of the way how Persian was making its appearance in India. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the manner in which the 'Arabs first came to India, and how their language, in contrast with Persian, gradually influenced the Prākrit of the land and the literary taste of the people.

The 'Arab exodus to India in Islāmic era.

It is clear from history that few 'Arab Muslims were interested in territorial acquisition in India until nearly the close of the first century A. H. They at first came to this country, in the regime of the *Khulafā-i-Rāshidīn*[1] in small batches which consisted of innocent visitors, having largely trade interests, who have distinguished themselves for their simple and pious lives.[2] It so happened that a group of

[1] Title of the first four successors of the Holy Prophet:

ابو بکر – عمر – عثمان – علی

[2] The prevalent conception in the minds of most people

'Arab traders sailed for India, and arrived at Tāna (Bombay) in 16 A. H. Subsequently two more groups landed at Baroach and Dībul,[1] where some skirmishes were fought with the natives, but none was undertaken either for conquest or was authorised by the Caliph. These new-comers went back, having traded and stayed for a while in India. It is related that the Caliph 'Umar was greatly displeased when he was informed of the safe return of the first batch from Tāna. In a letter to the governor of Bahrain, 'Uṣmān bin Abī al 'Āsī Ṣaqafī, who was originally responsible for the dispatch of this contingent, the Caliph remarked:

[2] يا اخا ثقيفٍ حملتَ دوداً على عود و انّى احلف بالله إلّو أصيبوا لاخذت من قومک مثلهم -

> O brother of Ṣaqīf, thou didst make an insect climb over a wood. And I swear by God, if they had come to grief, I would have taken the same number from thy tribe.

After 'Umar, a special envoy, Hakīm bin Jabalah al 'Abdī, was despatched to India at the instance of

even today is that the 'Arabs were led towards India for territorial conquest in all cases. This error could be removed if people were to take the trouble of consulting the early 'Arab historians dealing with India.

[1] It is the original Hindī word *dēval* (ديول) meaning a temple.

[2] Balāẓurī, Chap. I (Futūh us Sind).

the third Caliph ‘Uṣmān who, out of curiosity, wanted to know something about India and her people. But no expedition was sent out for territorial acquisition to Hindūstān either in his or in his successor’s regime.[1]

[1] Cf. the statement:

فلما ولى عثمانُ بن عفان و ولّى عبدالله بن عامر كريزالعراقَ كتب
اليه يا مره ان يوجّه الى ثغرالهند من يعلم علمه و ينصرف اليه بخبره فوجه
حكيم ابن جبلة العبدى فلما رجع او فده الى عثمان فسئاله عن حال البلاد
فقال يا امير المومنين قد عرفتها و تنحرّتها قال فصِفهالى قال ماؤها و شل
و تمرهاد قل و لِصّها بطل ان قلّ الجيش فيها ضا عوا وان كثروا جاءوا فقال
له عثمان أ خابرٌ ام ساجع قال بل خابر فلم يغزها احداً –

(Ibid.)

It is to be noted that the same governor of ‘Irāq, ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Āmir, had sent Ḫāriṣ in the reign of the fourth Caliph ‘Alī, with his permission, to make conquests on the borders of Sindh in Balūchistān. He and his men, after winning some victories, eventually died in Kelāt, and their activities remained confined to the outskirts of Hindūstān. The same happened later in the Caliphate of Amīr Mu‘āviyah, when Muhallab bin Abī Sufrah led his attacks in the same region in 44 A. H., leaving the interior provinces of Hindūstān unmolested. Cf. the statement:—

فلمّا كان آخرُ سنةَ ٣٨ و اول سنة ٣٩ فى خلافة على بن ابى طالب رض
توجه الى ذُلك الثغر الحارثُ بن مُرّةِ العبدىّ متطوعا باذن على فظفر و اصاب
مغنما و سَبياً. . . . . . . .ثم انه قُتِل و من معه بارض القيقانَ الا قليلا الخ

(Ibid.)

The 'Arab traders and travellers kept coming to India and returning home, after transacting business, for some nine decades, until in 93 A. H., a contingent of 'Arab soldiers sailed in Walīd bin 'Abdul Malik's time with the avowed object of preaching Islām and settling in India. The ground was prepared for the 'Arab missionaries and travellers as their predecessors had already established agreeable relations with the inhabitants of the land, leaving behind them a good reputation of their achievements. The new-comers chose to settle here permanently. They raised families and built estates. In a word, they came to look upon India as their home, and so did their descendants.

One of the most remarkable features concerning the lives of these early settlers, as well as their predecessors who had come and gone, is that the people were profoundly impressed with the purity of their living, their zeal for the new Faith and the principle of world-wide brotherhood which they preached. This striking feature attracted many an Indian to Islām at once. An idea of the conversion to Islām

ثم غزا ذلک الثغر المهلب بن ابی صفرة فی ایام معاویة سنة ۴۴....
ثم ولی عبدالله بن عامر فی زمن معاویة بن ابی سفیان عبدالله بن
سوار العبدی و یقال ولاه معاویة من قبله ثغر الهند فغز القیقان الخ –

(Ibid.)

could be had if we are told that over fifty thousand people were received into the Islāmic fold every year.[1] The Hindūs were attracted far more to Islām than either to the religion of Christ or Buddha. Buddhism had, at this time, become a great force in Sindh.

The 'Arab historian Ibn Hauqal, who visited Sindh in person in the second quarter of the third century A. H., says that Arabic and Sindhī were the spoken tongues of Sindh in his time, and were understood generally, so that during his stay there, he had no difficulty in making himself intelligible to the natives. It is mainly through the influence of Arabic in Sindh that its speech is described as different from the rest of Hindūstān. Thus says Mas-'ūdī:

[2] فهذه جمل من اخبار ملوک السند والهند , لغة السند خلاف لغة الهند

> So these are few sentences about the history of the kings of Sindh and Hind; and the lingua of Sindh is different from that of Hind.

He further speaks fervently of the happy relations prevailing between the Hindūs and the Muslims, and more particularly of the religious toleration

[1] Lane-poole has used the expression "Turk" for "Muslim". Cf. "It has been estimated that about fifty thousand Hindūs 'turn Turk' annually." (Mediæval India, Introduction, p. 4).

[2] Murūj uẓ Ẓahab, Chap. XVI.

shown by the members of one community for the other. For instance, he pays a high tribute of praise to Rājā Balhārī for his just and generous treatment of the Muslims, and the esteem in which he held their mosques in the following significant passage:

[1]وليس قى ملوک السند والهند من يعزالمسلمين فى ملكه مثل البلهرى فالاسلام فى ملكه عزيز و مصون و لهم مساجد مبنية و جوامع معمورة للصلوة الخمس و يملک الملک منهم اربعين سنة و خمسين فصاعدا – و اهل مملكته يز عمون انه طالت اعمار ملوكهم لسنة العدل و اكرام المسلمين –

> There is none among the rulers of Sindh and Hind who in his territory respects the Muslims like Rājā Balhārī. In his kingdom Islām is honoured and protected. And for them mosques and congregational mosques, which are always full, have been built for offering prayers five times. Every one of these kings rules for forty or fifty years or more. It is the general belief of the people of his kingdom that the lives of these kings are long because they administer justice and honour the Muslims.

After Balhārī, he places the Rājā of Ṯāfin[2] in

[1] Ibid.

[2] No city of this name could be traced on the map. Elliot in his History has taken it to mean the hilly tracts or the mountainous region of salt.

this respect, and compliments him as follows:

[1] ثم يلي هذالملك ملك الطافن موادع لمن حوله من الملوك مكرم للمسلمين –

Balāẓurī also has quoted instances of the kind and just treatment meted out to the Muslims by the Hindūs. Once in an encounter against Sindān, a coast town of Sindh, the Hindūs gained victory over the Muslims, and captured the town. But they never destroyed or damaged the mosques, nor interfered with the liberty of the Muslims as citizens. He observes:

[2] ثم ان الهند بعد غلبوا على سندان فتركوا مسجدها للمسلمين يجمعون فيه ويدعون للخليفة –

A curious story is told illustrating the high sense of justice of a Rājā of Gujarāt by the Persian historian ʻAufi, in his *Jawāmiʻ*[3]. He writes that when he happened to visit Khambāyat (Cambay) which was a big town on the coast of Gujarāt, he found there a small population of devout Muslims, who entertained travellers and also extended their hospitality to him. During his stay in the town, he heard a story of *Naushīrwān*-like justice which runs as follows:

[1] Murūj, Chap. XVI.
[2] Futūḫ ul Buldān, Chap. Futūḫ us Sindh.
[3] Chap. II (ذکر ملوکِ طوائف و احوالِ ایشان).

In the days of Rājā Jang, there was a mosque which had a minaret, from the top of which the *Mu'azzin* gave the call for prayers. It so happened that the Pārsīs incited the Hindūs to make war on the Muslims. The latter's mosque with its minaret was razed to the ground, and along with it eighty Muslims, who had taken their stand by the mosque, were slain. 'Alī, the *Imām* of the mosque, fled to Naharwāla, the capital seat of the Rājā, and tried to approach him for the redress of the wrong done to the mosque and the Muslims. Failing access to the Rājā, he made complaints to the officials at the court, but none paid any heed to his representation. Not discouraged at this, he composed a poem in current Hindī, narrating therein the full story of Hindū atrocity and the official indifference, and planned to present this versified petition to the Rājā, when he rode out for *shikār* on the appointed day. The opportunity soon came, and the *Imām*, who had carefully hid himself in a bush on the Rājā's track, rushed out and boldly stood in front of his elephant, barring the way, and prayed that his petition be heard. The Rājā took compassion, and ordered his *Mahout* to stop the elephant. He then heard the versified Hindī petition of the *Imām* from the beginning to the end with forbearance and attention. When the *Imām* finished, the Rājā took this poem, and gave it to his Secretary, with instructions to remind him of it on his return from *Shikār*. That day the Rājā did not tarry long

in the jungle, and returned early. He called his Minister and told him that he felt tired, and would remain within the Palace and rest for three days, adding that the usual work of the State should be carried on during these three days without reference to him. Having said this, he retired, and when the night fell, he robed himself in a merchant's dress, and mounting on a fast camel rode to Khambāyat, which lay at a distance of forty *farsang* from Naharwāla. The next evening he reached his destination, and went about the streets of the city, listening to the talk of the passersby and the local shop-keepers. He also inspected the spot, and made casual and unconcerned inquiries about the incident from the residents of the quarter. He heard every one say that great outrage was committed on the poor Muslims, their innocent blood was shed, and their shrine with its minaret was pulled down to the ground. The Rājā then went to the coast, and taking out his jug he filled it with the sea-water, sealed it, and repaired to his Capital, covering the distance as before in one day and one night. On the next day of his arrival, he held a public *darbār*, which was attended by the people and the officials of the State. The *Imām* of the mosque was also present. When the *darbār* was in full swing, the Rājā suddenly recalled the Muslim petitioner's case, and asked the Minister-in-charge to produce the *Imām* and his Hindī petition. The *Imām* appeared and made his obeisance. The Rājā

granted him permission to read his petition. When he finished, the officers of the Rājā unanimously declared the contents to be false. Thereupon the Rājā ordered his ewer-bearer to bring the sealed jug, break the seal, and distribute the water to every one of them. They all tasted it, and found it to be the brackish water of the sea. The Rājā then related in the *darbār* how he had gone in person to Khambāyat in the guise of a merchant to ascertain the facts, and returned with the truth. He declared that the Muslims were the oppressed, and in his kingdom no community should come to grief, and his Rāj could not tolerate such oppression. He then ordered that the ring-leaders from among the Hindūs and the Pārsīs, who had a hand in the crime, should be brought to book, and the Muslim sufferers be awarded from the Royal Treasury one lac of *balūtrā* (silver coin) to rebuild their mosque and its minaret. The Imām received *khil'at* and other gifts from the Rājā, which were retained in the mosque for centuries afterwards as a token of the Rājā's unparalleled act of clemency and justice to the aggrieved Muslim subjects of his State. The Persian traveller was an eye-witness to these gifts which were there as exhibits till 665 A. H., when he visited Cambay. Many such instances can be quoted from reliable authorities, but there is no place for them here.

In short, the 'Arab invaders came to India by sea through Persia. Their first armed batch landed

at Dībul, at the mouth of the Indus, having sailed from S̱arāfah (or S̱arrāfah) in the Persian Gulf, and passed along the Persian coast. The circumstances which attracted them to India for the purpose of territorial conquests on the Indian soil, may be briefly stated as follows:

The early ʻArab merchants and travellers who had returned home, having traded with the people and preached their religion in India, spoke freely to their countrymen about India's wealth, its rich products and its abundant shady and fruit trees, which they had seen during their sojourn in Sindh, Cambay, Calicut and Gujarāt, in contrast with their own desert lands. No detailed account of their activities is available now. What is probable, however, is that these people had no intention of territorial acquisition in Hindūstān. The opportunity for territorial conquest presented itself to the ʻArabs, as stated above, long afterwards, when the ʻArab travellers and traders were not sufficiently protected against the attacks of the robbers and pirates by the Rājās of Sindh and Gujarāt. Several ships carrying merchandise from the Persian towns, and a party of widows and orphan daughters of the ʻArab traders who had died in Ceylon and were sent under escort by the Rājā to H̱ajjāj, the Caliph's governor of ʻIrāq, to please him, had been robbed at Dībul, which was the chief mediæval harbour of Sindh at the mouth of the river Indus. When the pirates, coming out

of their armed barges, attacked the ship carrying the women and their property, a woman cried out, "O H̲ajjāj come to our help." On this news being conveyed to H̲ajjāj, he forthwith answered the call, saying, "I come to your help." These pirates had become a menace to the 'Arab trade on the coast of India. Their strong-holds were the harbours of Sindh and Gujarāt, and the Rājās were unable to chastise them, as was confessed by Rājā Dāhir himself in his reply to the demand made by H̲ajjāj.[1] To add to this injury, Rājā Dāhir had incensed the Caliph Walīd bin 'Abdul Malik and his governor H̲ajjāj, by his refusal to arrest and hand over to them the 'Arab convicts who had fled and taken shelter in the Rājā's dominion. These were the main causes

[1] ثم استعمل الحجاج بعد مجاعة محمد بن هارون ابن ذراع النمری فاهدی الی الحجاج فی ولایته ملک جزیرة الیاقوت نسوة و لدن فی بلاده مسلمات و مات آباؤهن وکانوا تجارا فاراد التقرب بهن فعرض للسفینة اللتی کن فیها قوم من میدالدیبل فی بوارج فاخذوا السفینة بما فیها فنادت امرأة منهن وکانت من بني یر بوع یا حجاج و بلغ الحجاج ذلک فقال یا لبیک فارسل الی داهر یسئله تخلیة النسوة فقال انما اخذ هن لصوص لا اقدر علیهم فاغزی الحجاج عبید الله بن نَبْهان الدیبل فقتل فکتب الی بُدَیل بن طهفة البَجَلیّ وهو بعمان یامره ان یسیر الی الدیبل.... ثم ولی الحجاج محمد بن قاسم... فغزا السند وکان محمد بفارس الخ -

(Balāẕurī, Chap. Futūh̲ us Sind).

which led the 'Arabs to think seriously of the occupation of the coast towns of Sindh. The first remedy that suggested to them lay in their seizure of the port of Dībul. Consequently an army, under the command of Muhammad bin Qāsim, consisting of six thousand soldiers from the inhabitants of Syria, and many more from other towns, was collected at Shīrāz, together with large supplies of war material, including even needles and thread to prepare sand-bags. Muhammad Qāsim was instructed to remain and wait in Shīrāz until the whole equipment was ready and all his comrades and soldiers had arrived and joined him. Several armed barges with men and material sailed in advance to meet him at Dībul. The army from Shīrāz marched along the Persian coast, and reached the valley of the Indus on Friday, substantially added and increased in bulk on its way, and laid siege to the fort of Dībul which enshrined the sacred temple.

Balāẓurī, more than any other historian of this period who wrote on India, gives a fuller account of this battle in his *Futūhul Buldān*, which he completed in the latter part of the third century A. H. This historic battle was fought in 93 A. H. The 'Arab army, consisting mostly of the Persian troops, was led by the young general, who was then only seventeen;[1]

[1] Cf. the verses of Hamzah ibn Bīẓ al Hanafī:
ان المروة والسماحة والندى   لمحمد بن القاسم بن محمد

while Rājā Dāhir's governor of the town was in command of his and the allied forces, including the garrison in the fort. The 'Arab general ordered trenches to be dug, and stationed his gunners and spearmen in small detatchments, each carrying its own banner.[1] The big stone-battering ram of the 'Arabs, called the '*Arūs*[2] (bride), which was pulled by five hundred men, proved very effective, and brought down from the top of the temple the huge red ensign which was hoisted on a tall dried palm-pole that served as the flag-staff. This was accomplished in accordance with the instructions from H̱ajjāj who was consulted on all important matters. A special envoy was despatched every fourth day carrying to H̱ajjāj a report of the events that occurred and the problems that confronted the general during the past three days. The reply received in respect of the same was duly attended to[3]. In regard to the

سَاسَ الجيوشَ لِسبع عشرة حجة   يا قربَ ذُلک سودٌ داً من مولدِ

(Ibid.)

Also Cf. another poet:

سَاس الرجال لِسبع عشرة حجة   ولداته عن ذاک فی اشغالِ

[1] Cf. فخندق حین نزل الدیبل و رکزت الرماح علی الخندق و نشرت الاعلام و انزل الناس علی رایاتهم – (Ibid.)

[2] Cf. و نصب منجنیقا تعرف بالعروس کان یمد فیها خمس مایة رجل – (Ibid.)

[3] Cf. وکانت کتب الحجاج ترد علی محمد و کتب محمد ترد علیه بصفة ما قبله و استطلاع رایه فیما یعمل به فی کل ثلاثة ایام – (Ibid.)

conquest of this fort, Ḫajjāj wrote to Muḫammad Qāsim to fix the *'Arūs* with its mouth facing to the east of the town, and shorten its angle, and direct the gunner to strike at the pole to which the red ensign was tied. The general acted accordingly. When the gunner with an accurate aim hit the pole, it broke asunder, and the huge flag, which flew in the air majestically over the town, came down.[1] This struck consternation into the rank and file of the garrison, and the inhabitants took the incident to be a bad omen, and became desperate, and came out of the town to give battle to Muḫammad Qāsim in the open. A fierce encounter took place, which resulted in the latter's partial success in defeating the enemy and driving him back into the town. The walls of the fort were then scaled, and after a sustained struggle the fort fell to the 'Arabs, and the bulk of the Rājā's army together with his governor fled to the North of the Indus. Thus the victors were placed in undisputed possession of the town, and celebrated their victory for three days. Muḫammad Qāsim ordered a mosque to be built there, which survived for centuries to commemorate his first victory on the soil of India. After a few days' rest,

[1] Cf. فورد على محمد من الحجاج كتاب اَن انصب العَروس و اقصر منها قائمة والكن مما يلى المشرق ثم ادع صاحبها فمُره ان يقصد برميته الدقل الذى و صفت لى فرمى الدقل فكسر – (Ibid.)

the 'Arab general led his troops further up the valley in pursuit of the enemy, leaving a strong garrison in the fort. Some historians assert that he first went to Bīrūn, an old city of Sindh, which later became the birth-place of the famous mathematician and astronomer Abū Raiḫān, better known as al-Bīrūnī.[1] The inhabitants of Bīrūn had already secured peace terms from Ḫajjāj by sending to him two *Samonīs* (Buddhists) as plenipotentiaries. After entering Bīrūn, and receiving the subsidy in accordance with the terms of this treaty, he marched triumphantly through other towns, and came to Mihrān where another treaty was signed between him and the Rājā of that place, through the good offices of a Brahman named Srī Bēdās, who was specially deputed by the Rājā for this purpose. Muḫammad Qāsim then came within sight of Rājā Dāhir's main army encamped on a plain on the right bank of the Indus, with a vast military equipment and rows of horses and elephants. When the news of the general's approach was reported to the

[1] Cf. Abul Fidā: و بیرون مدینة بالسند. . . .وهی مولد ابی ریحان
Also, cf. Ismā'īl bin 'Alī al Ayyūbī:

والبیرون اسم مدینة من الدیبل. . .وقال ابن سعید مدینة البیرون التی
ینسب الیها ابو ریحان البیرونی –

(Taqwīm, MSS. vol. 147b, Rāmpūr State Library).

Note:—This latter view is unsupported by facts. For details vide discussion under al-Bīrūnī (Chapter III), Supra.

Rājā, he declared his readiness to fight. Undismayed, the 'Arab general began seriously to consider plans to cross the river which had no bridge built over it in that area. There was, one, however, at some distance in the adjoining neutral territory of Rājā Rāsil, which Dāhir least thought the 'Arab general would make use of.[1] Dāhir, in fact, was over-confident of the enemy's inability to cross the Indus, and had neglected to keep an eye on his movements. The 'Arabs seized the opportunity, and succeeded in crossing the river at this strategical point. The Rājā was soon dis-illusioned when he found, to his surprise, that the 'Arab general and his army had crossed the river and stood face to face. It caused consternation in the Rājā's camp, and a fierce hand to hand fight ensued between the two contending armies. The Rājā was surrounded by war elephants manned with his archers, and his own stately elephant was in the centre.[2] The great havoc done by the catapults and the naphtha-arrows of the 'Arabs were the chief factors contributing to the Rājā's defeat. These arrows, it appears, set fire to the *howdas* of the elephants, who fled in dismay in all directions, mad-

[1] Cf. ثم ان محمدا احتال لعبور مهر ان حتى عبره مما يلى بلاد راسل ملک قصة من الهند على جسر عقده و داهر مستخف به لاه عنه الخ
(Balāẓurī, Futūh us Sind)

[2] Cf. و لقيه محمد والمسلمون وهو على فيل و حوله الفيلة (Ibid.)

dened with fury, causing utter confusion in the camp. The morale of the Rājā's army was broken. In this hubbub Dāhir, who was in supreme command of his *lashkar* got down from his elephant, and fought heroically till the last. Both the parties, says the 'Arab historian, fought with such valour as had not been heard of in history.[1] Rājā Dāhir's courage was specially to be seen in the fact that he kept on fighting single-handed when all his body-guards and personal attendants had deserted him. Towards the evening he was over-powered and killed[2] by an 'Arab of the tribe of Banī Kilāb, named Qāsim bin Ṣa'labī bin 'Abdullah bin Ḫasan, who was also a poet, as is depicted in his verses:

الخیل تشهد یوم داهر و القنا
و محمد بن القاسم بن محمد
انی فرجت الجمع غیر معرد
حتی علوت عظیمهم بمهند
فترکته تحت العجاج مجدلا
متعفر الخدین غیر موسد

[1] Cf. فاقتتلوا قتالا شدیدا لم یسمع بمثله و ترجل داهر و قاتل
(Ibid.)

[2] فقتل عند المساء وانهزم المشرکون (Ibid.)

The horses and the spears bear witness when
I gave battle to Dāhir,
And so does Muhammad bin Qāsim bin Muhammad too,
That I dashed straight through the lines of the
enemy,
Till I came upon their leader with the Indian
sword[1] in my hand,
Then I threw him down on the ground in fight,
His cheeks were smeared with dust, and he
was without a pillow.

The full size pictures of Dāhir and his slayer were painted at Baroach, and were preserved there for a long time. This victory opened for the 'Arabs an easy way to Brahmanābād, the key to Multān, which was a religious centre and a strong-hold of Hindū political power and wealth.[2] Both these fortified towns fell in rapid succession to the great joy of the village population which welcomed the new-

[1] The steel of an Indian sword was known all over the world for its superfine quality. It was tempered through a special scientific process. (Royle's Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine, pp. 46-7).

[2] Multān has been called by the 'Arab historians: فرج بيت الذهب (the mouth of the treasure of gold). The temple of Multān was held to be most sacred by the Hindūs because of its idol which was believed to represent the Prophet Ayyūb (Cf. Balāẓurī :—ويزعمون أن صنما فيه هو ايوب النبى). The city was called "Multān" after the name of its idol, and attracted presents and pilgrims from the whole of Hindūstān.

comers as their saviours.[1] Whole families of men, women and children came out of their homes at the news of this conquest, beating drums, and dancing before the tents of the 'Arab soldiers. Muhammad bin Qāsim advanced further, receiving homage from many other towns like Rohrī, Basmad, Sāwandrī and Sukkur. At Kevīrāj, however, his passage was obstructed by Rājā Dāhir's son, Duharā who, having come out of the town, was determined to fight to avenge the death of his father. His horse and spear proved

[1] Lane-poole assigns the following reasons for the joy of the village populace over the 'Arab conquest:

> "The Hindū rulers had oppressed them heavily, and the Jāts and Medes and other tribes were on the side of the invaders. The work of conquest, as often happened in India, was thus aided by the disunion of the inhabitants, and jealousies of race and creed conspired to help the Muslims". (Mediaeval India, p. 10).

Politically, the 'Arab conquest appears to have been a blessing to the people in the conquered territories, and, in particular, reflects on the way the Hindū subjects of Sindh mourned for Muhammad bin Qāsim, and raised his statue to commemorate his just and tolerant government, after he was recalled home by the Caliph's order. Cf. the statement:—

فبكى اهل الهند على محمد وصوروه بالكيرج

He was very popular in Sindh, and was loved by the people for his equitable rule. In a verse of his own composition, he declares that if he had chosen to remain in Sindh (as its king) both men and women of the place would have supported his claim, and fought on his side against any foe:—

لو كنت أجمعت القرار لوطئت أناث أعدت للوغى و ذكور

no match for Muh̲ammad Qāsim's victorious arms, which soon crushed the enemy and killed their leader. An 'Arab poet, who personally took part in the fight, composed the following verse describing the death of the father and the son on the battlefield at the hands of the 'Arabs:

نحن قتلنا داهرا ، و دوهرا ، والخيل تردى منسرا ، و منسرا

Thus the whole plain of the Indus valley came under the direct sway of the 'Arab conquerors. This is no place to give a detailed account of these epoch-making conquests. We are mainly concerned with the cultural effect which the 'Arab occupation of the territory from Dībul to Multān produced in the conquered land,[1] including Sindh, which was later

[1] Lane-poole is in error when he observes in his volume on Mediaeval India:

> "We must dismiss at the outset any idea of the Arabian influence in India," and again, "the conquest was only an episode in the history of India and of Islām, a triumph without results".

The various dynasties and races that came to India at different times from foreign countries, and settled in upper Hindūstān, prior to the coming in of the Muslim 'Arabs, had identified themselves with the Indian people and their religious and social culture. All such immigrants, including the Greeks, had something in common, and maintained no separate individuality, like the 'Arabs, who adhered to their own civilization and faith which resembled none. The principles of life, society and religion of the 'Arab settlers did virtually influence the Indian people, and attract them to Islāmic ways; while the civilization and the sciences of the Indians, in their turn, arrested the

fully subdued by Muhammad bin Qāsim's son, after the father had been recalled home by the Caliph's order. The fact that Muhammad bin Qāsim's forces were collected at Shīrāz, and consisted largely of Persian soldiers, goes to suggest that Persian must have been spoken in the newly conquered land. Nevertheless, it is open to doubt whether Persian culture could assert itself at the time we are speaking about, owing to the dominating influence of Arabic, the language of the conquerors. The historians, Mas'ūdī and Ibn Hauqal, record how they found the 'Arabs in Sindh down to the fourth century A. H., speaking their mother-tongue even in their daily life. Sindhī which contains such a large number of Arabic words owes them to the fact that the 'Arabs adhered

attention of the 'Arabs. Thus the meeting of these two great nations of the world happily influenced each other, and benefited India immensely in thought, and substantially improved its social, commercial, rural, religious, linguistic, economic, architectural, administrative and military aspects. As a matter of fact, so many various sects and creeds that came to, or rose in, India from time immemorial merged into one absorbing religion, Hinduism, though retaining their separate identities and religious customs; while Islām, which brought its own culture and faith has since stood by itself. The 'Arab civilization and culture had a due share in the subsequent making of India, and in the uplift and advancement of the people of Sindh, Gujarāt and part of the Punjāb as is evident from the system of land revenue, trade, social inter-course, town planning, defence, and buildings with domes and minarets, prevalent in the second and the third centuries of the Hijrah, during the 'Arab rule. Also, the effect of Arabic is noticeable even today on the spoken language of Sindh.

to Arabic in India for centuries. Their influence was noticed not only on the native tongue, Sindhī, but also on the culture of the province, which is a separate subject altogether, and will be dealt with in its place. Persian, in fact, had little chance of attracting the Indian people yet. But a tremendous event was about to happen, to open an entirely new chapter in the cultural history of India. This great event was the appearance of the Ghaznavīds on the Indian scene, to which we shall turn our attention after a preliminary survey of the general state of Persian literature in its own home.

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-GHAZNAVID PERIOD

Section I:—General state of Persian literature and poetic taste in Khurāsān and other adjoining territories.

In order to be able to realise the full effect of Persian culture on India through the Ghaznavīd connection, one must take a bird's-eye view of the general state of Persian language and literature a little prior to the emergence of the Ghaznavīds in history. It is essential to note the rise of Persian as a spoken and literary tongue of the people of Central Asia, and the great liking for it in the territories lying to India's North-West frontier, particularly in the districts politically connected with the Punjāb, and linked by one rule.

Before the Ghaznavīds appeared on the scene, the Province of Khurāsān, which was the chief seat of Persian culture, was ruled by the Ṯāhirīds in the name of the Caliphs of Baghdād. The Ṯāhirīds displayed an exceedingly great interest in Arabic poetry. Their predilection for and patronage of the arts made Khurāsān, during their regime, a notable centre of Arabic learning. Many an 'Arab poet of repute found patronage with the Ṯāhirīds. Thus

the 'Arab poets and the noblemen, from among those 'Arab settlers and travellers who came to India at this time from Khurāsān, naturally brought with them, along with the Arabic language, the native literature of that Province and the taste for its poetry and art. The last days of the Ṯāhirīds should be reckoned as the earliest date for the coming of Persian proper in India. It came then, as was to be expected, depending upon Arabic. Although Persian poetry was not much heard of among the people of Khurāsān, yet the Ṯāhirīds valued Persian poetry no less than Arabic poetry. This statement is borne out by the fact that there were present at the Court some famous Persian poets such as Ḥakīm Abū Ḥafṣ, Hinẓalah Bādghīsī, Maḥmūd Warrāq,[1] Fīrūz Mashriqī and several others whose poetry has survived to this day.

Defence of the Ṯāhirīds against the preposterous charge of burning the whole mass of Persian literature during their regime in Khurāsān.

It is necessary here to defend the Ṯāhirīds against the preposterous charge of having burnt to ashes the whole mass of Persian literature that was produced or could then be found in Khurāsān, which some unscrupulous historians have fixed on them, and, in particular, on 'Abdullāh bin

[1] Maḥmūd Warrāq was the court-poet of the last Ṯāhirīd king.

Ṯāhir, the Caliph's governor of that Province.[1] The facts that throw doubt on this view are the following:

[1] Cf Daulat Shāh:—

حکایت کنند که امیر عبدالله بن طاهر که بروزگار خلفای عباسی امیر
خراسان بود روزے در نیشاپور نشسته بود شخصے کتابے آورده و به تحفه
پیش او بنهاد – پرسید که این چه کتاب است گفت این قصهٔ وامق و
عذر است و خوب حکایتے است که حکما بنامِ نوشیروان جمع کرده اند –
امیر فرمود تا آں کتاب را در آب انداختند و حکم کرد که در قلمرومن
هر کجا که از تصانیفِ عجم و مغان کتابے باشد جمله را بسوزانند – ازین
جهت تا روزگارِ آل سامان اشعار عجم را ندیده اند –

(p. 30, ed. by Browne)

It is related that 'Abdullāh bin Ṯāhir, who was the governor of Khurāsān during the 'Abbāsīd regime, was sitting one day in Nīshāpūr. A certain person brought to him a book and presented it to him. The Amīr asked him what book it was. He replied that it was the story of *Wāmiq* and 'Azrā, and a very good story that the sages had preserved in the name of Naushīrwān. The Amīr commanded that the book be thrown into the water, and ordered that in his dominion wherever any book from the literature of the Persians and the fire-worshippers be found, it should be completely burnt. For this reason Persian verses have not been seen until the days of the Sāmānīds.

Also Cf. Riẓā Qulī Khān Hidāyat:—

ظاهر است که اشعار قدیم شعرای عجم بسبب غلبهٔ عرب ازمیان رفته
چنانکه مشهور است که تمام کتب و تواریخ عجمیان را عرب سوختند و از
کتبِ قدیمه چیزے برجانگذاشتند اِلّا قلیلے که پنهاں داشتند – چوں مردم
را قدغن بلیغ نمودند قاعدهٔ سخن فارسی و شعر متروک شد –

(Majma'ul Fuṣaḥā)

The Ṯāhirīds, and in particular, 'Abdullāh bin Ṯāhir and his Caliph al-Māmūn 'Abbāsī, were not only patrons of knowledge, but they were striking examples of learning themselves. They valued scientific and literary works, caring little to which nation or race these works belonged, as is evidenced by the fact that they had many books on history, science and geometry translated into Arabic. They also sent for Greek writings on philosophy, medicine and mathematics, and had them translated into Arabic. They entertained no prejudice against any literature and like the great Mughals held periodical religious discussions, which they themselves attended. Witness what the well-known 'Arab historian, 'Abdu'l Raḥmān al-Maghribī, remarks concerning al-Māmūn's profound interest in letters:

[1] وكان المامون من افاضل الخلفاء و علمائهم و حكمائهم و حلمائهم اتم
رجال بنى عباس حزما و عزما و فراسة و فهما وكان قد اخذ من العلوم بقسط
و ضرب فيها بسهم و تاءدب و تفقه و برع فى فنون التاريخ و الادب و النجوم
و لما كبر اعتنى با لفلسفة و علوم الاول و هوالذى استخرج كتاب اقليدس

It is evident that the ancient poetry of the poets of Persia vanished after the invasion and supremacy of the 'Arabs, and the report goes that they burnt all the books and historical literature of the Persians, and left nothing from their ancient books which they did not destroy, except a very few of them which they had kept hidden. Since the 'Arabs proscribed Persian writings, the practice of Persian composition and poetry among them was abandoned.

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, account of 'Abdullāh al-Māmūn.

و امر بترجمة و تفصيله و عقد المجالس فى خلافته للمناظرة فى الا ديان
و المقالات....فا قبل على طلب العلم فى مواضعه و داخل ملوك الروم
و سألهم صلته بما لديهم من كتب الفلسفة فبعثوا اليه منها ما حضرهم فا ستجاد
لها مهرة التراجمة و كلّفهم احكام ترجمتها فتُرجِّمَتْ له على غاية ما امكن....
ثم حرص الناس على قرأ تها و رغبهم فى تعليمها فكان يخلو بالحكماء يا نس
بمناظر تهم ويتلذذ بمذاكر تهم علما منه بان اهل العلم هم صفوة الله من خلقه
و نخبته من عباده –

"And al-Māmūn was among the most qualified, learned, wise and mild Caliphs. He was one of the most accomplished of the people of Banū 'Abbās, gifted with foresight, determination, intelligence and understanding; and had acquired a considerable share in all kinds of learning, and achieved success in them. He studied literature and jurisprudence, and excelled in the knowledge of history, literature and astronomy. And when he grew up, he turned his attention to philosophy and ancient sciences. And it was he who searched out the book of Euclid, and ordered its translation and commentary to be written. He convened assemblies during his Caliphate to hold discussion on different religions and subjects. And he visited the seats of learning in search of knowledge, and entered into friendly communication with the *Kaisers* of Rūm. And whatever stock of books of philosophy was with them, he asked for it, and made this a means of friendship with them, and they sent to him whatever stock they

had. Then he invited the experts in those subjects to translate those books into Arabic, and entrusted the work of translation to them. And the translations were made for him with the utmost possible care. He then encouraged people to read those sciences, and made them acquire this knowledge. He sat with the learned, and took interest in their literary discussions, and derived pleasure from their conversation, because he knew that the possessors of learning are the chosen of God among His creatures and the best among His servants."

At the close of the Ṯāhirīd rule in 260 A. H., the Ṣaffārīd gained ascendancy in Turkestan and Mäwarā un Nahr, which lasted for about thirty-one years, giving place to the most important and cultured dynasty of Persia known as the Sāmānīd. The latter's influence was noticeable in Turkestān even in the Ṯāhirīd days, but since the beginning of 279 A.H., it became more pronounced and definite under the leadership of Ismā'īl bin Aḫmad, who proclaimed himself ruler of Turkestān. and Māwarā un Nahr, and ordered the *khutbah* to be read in his name. After the founder's death, his nephew Naṣr bin Aḫmad succeeded him to the throne. During his regime, Rūdakī, the distinguished poet of the court, attempted lyric poetry. Naṣr was a lover of arts and letters, and is famous in history for his patronage of Rūdakī, the first great poet of Persia. After Naṣr, his son, Nūḫ, who became king in 331 A. H., excelled his

father in literary taste. He founded a library unrivalled for the size and rarity of its contents, and brought together a band of eminent scholars and poets at his court. The famous scientist, Avicenna, who personally inspected this unique collection, has given an elaborate account of it in his autobiography. He says:

[1]وكانت عديم المثل فيها من كل فنّ من الكتب المشهورة بايدي الناس
وغيرهم مالا يوجد فى سواها ولا سُمع باسمه فضلا عن معرفته

> And this library was peerless. There were in it almost all famous and current books on every subject; and in addition, there were books that could not be found anywhere except in this library; and even their names were not heard of, not to say of their subject matter.

The Sāmānīds claimed Persian descent. Hence it was but natural for them to pay special attention to the production of Persian literature, with the result that it did not take very long for Persian art and culture to assert themselves in the life of the people under the Sāmānīd regime. A number of important works, such as the *Kalīlah wa Damnah* and the *Tārīkh Ṯabarī*, were translated from Sanskrit and Arabic

[1] Ṯabaqāt ul Aṯibbā, Vol. II, p. 4.

into Persian. The poets composed *dīwāns*, and Daqīqī was deputed to write the great epic, the *Shāhnāmah*, which later was taken up and completed by the immortal Firdausī, after Daqīqī had done only a thousand lines when he met his tragic death at the hands of a slave. There arose at this time about twenty poets writing in Persian in the various centres of Persian culture in Central Asia, including Persia itself. Of these poets the leading were Abū 'Abdullāh Farālāwī, Murādī, Shahīd Balkhī, Rūdakī, Daqīqī and a poetess, Rābi'a of Baṣrah, who wrote both in Persian and Arabic. Since the Sāmānīds had little to do directly with India, it is out of place here to refer, in any detail, to the condition of Persian culture or the styles of Persian composition formed and adopted during the Sāmānīd regime, except a general remark which would be necessary as a prelude to the growth of Persian writing in India.

The Ghaznavīd dynasty, which succeeded the Sāmānīd, directly brought to India Persian literature, civilization and taste for poetry, all of which came to stay and develop in the congenial surroundings of their new home.

Relation of the Ghaznavīds with the Sāmānīd dynasty of Persia.

This dynasty fully represented the Sāmānīds in all their cultural aspects, tendencies and interests, and was largely responsible for the initiation of Persian literature in India, independently of 'Arab influence and

Arabic medium. It sprang, so to speak, "at the feet" of the Sāmānīds closely succeeding them, and came to power through the elevation of one Alptagīn to the governorship of Khurāsān, who was a slave of 'Abdul Malik, the last ruler of the Sāmānīd descent. After Alptagīn, his son, Abū Ishāq, sat on the throne in 367 A.H., but died within a few days, and the people chose one of Alptagīn's slaves, Subuktagīn, who was also his master's son-in-law, as their king. After his death, his son, Mahmūd, the most famous figure in the history of Muslim rule in India, succeeded to his father's kingdom of Khurāsān and Ghaznī. It was under his banner that the Persian language made its serious and undisputed appearance in India. It came to stay, and acquired a place in the comity of Indian languages and literatures. Within Mahmūd's lifetime its progress was marked with wonderful strides, anditbecame very popular in the Punjāb, because of the congenial atmosphere and the pro-Persian tendencies about which we shall speak hereafter.

Persian in India in Mahmūd's father's regime.

It seems probable, however, that the taste for Persian culture and Persian poetry had taken root in India during his father's regime, since the latter had visited India several times on his mission of conquest, and returned to Ghaznī soon after giving battles to Jaipāl, the Brahman Rājā of the Punjāb. It is not known which poets accompanied him on

these expeditions, but it seems certain that many attended on his person according to the fashion of the day. It is due to his interrupted sojourns in India that the taste for Persian poetry among the people did not become so clearly visible under him as it did under his son, Mahmūd. There is no record to show that poets, in their customary fashion, presented him with *qasā'id* on memorable occasions of victory, except a *nazm* by Abul Fath Bustī, who composed it at Ghaznī; nor is there any clear hint in the early histories to throw light on their poetical activities in Hindūstān. This is why Persian poetry has no recorded history in India prior to Mahmūd's conquest.

Some distinguished poets and writers:—Abul 'Abbās bin Ahmad Isfarā'īnī.

Some distinguished poets and writers of Subuktagīn's reign, who were at Ghaznī and received favours from him, were Abul 'Abbās bin Ahmad Isfarā'īnī, Abul Fath Bustī and Abū Nasr Muhammad bin 'Abdul Jabbār 'Utbī. Isfarā'īnī was formerly the chief Munshī at the court of Nasr bin Ahmad, ruler of the Sāmānīd dynasty, and was later appointed Minister by Subuktagīn when he ruled Khurāsān in the name of Nūh bin Nasr. Being a Persian by birth, Isfarā'īnī, in addition to his Arabic learning, was a profound scholar of Persian, and rendered invaluable service to Persian language and Persian poetry. It was he who introduced Firdausī to the

court of Sultān Mahmūd, and recommended him for the composition of the great epic, the *Shāh Nāmah.* Further, he substituted Persian language for Arabic which, until his time, was the court language of the rulers of Ghaznī. Firdausī gratefully refers to him in the following verse:

ز دستور فرزانهٔ داد گر   پراگنده رنج من آمد بسر

Sadr ul Afāzil Abul Fath Bustī.

The second great poet and writer was Abul Fath Bustī, whom 'Aufī calls صدرالافاضل و الکتاب (the head of the learned and the calligraphists). He had full command of Arabic and Persian, and wrote fluently in both. Sulaimān bin 'Abdul Husain Sarakhshī opines:

[1] و اورادر لغت تازی و پارسی ژرفی و شرفی بوده که بالغ کلامان در امصار بهعذوبت و متانت آن معترف اند و خطاباتش در نثر پارسی معروف -

'Aufī testifies to his Arabic and Persian *dīwāns*, and quotes from the latter the following Persian *qit'a*:

[2] یکی نصیحت من گوش دار و فرمان کن
که از نصیحت سود آن کند که فرمان کرد

[1] Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, MS., foll. 37.
[2] Lubāb, vol. I, pp. 64-65.

همه بصلح گرای و همه مدارا کن
که از مدارا کردن ستوده گردد مرد
اگرچه قوت‌داری و عدت بسیار
بکرد صلح گرای و بکرد جنگ مکرد
نه هر که دارد شمشیر حرب باید کرد
نه هر که دارد پا زهر زهر باید خورد

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin 'Abdul Jabbār al-'Utbī.

The third great poet and writer was Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin 'Abdul Jabbār al-'Utbī, who wrote his famous history, the *Tārīkh Yamīnī*, after his master's death, in elegant and florid Arabic, and dedicated it to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, to commemorate the occasion of the latter's receiving the title of *Yamīn ud Daulah* from the Caliph of Baghdād. In this history, he has recorded the events of Subuktagīn and his son Maḥmūd. It was written in about 415 A. H., after Maḥmūd's Indian campaigns, when the author was in his employ. A detailed account of this work is published in German by Noldeke, in the Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie, Vienna, and another in English by Elliot, in his History of India. The original Arabic text was translated into Persian in about 605 A. H., by one Abu'sh Sharaf Nāṣih of Jurbāẓāqān,[1] and its translation into English was

[1] A small town situated between Hamadān and Isfahān.

published by the Oriental Translation Fund, London, in 1858. 'Aufī, commenting on Yamīnī's elegant style, says:

[1]الحق کتابے که غرائبِ بیانِ ور وایع کلماتِ آں در لطافت آبِ زلال
و طراوت بادِ شمال است – دُرَر و غُررِ الفاظِ آں آرایشِ نحورِ حور شاید و
مطالعۀ مطالع و مقاطعِ آں آسایشِ دلِ صدور بود –

After the Ghaznavīds, the same patronage was shown by the kings of the succeeding dynasties of Ghōr, Slave, Khiljī, Tughlaq, Lōdī and the Mughals,[2] which kept alive the unity and friendship between the two countries, and enabled the Indian contribution to Persian letters to be at par with the original literature of Persia. This resulted in bringing the peoples of the two countries nearer to each other in sympathy and understanding in all their social and literary activities through the common bond of the Persian language.

Prior to Maḫmūd's invasion, India was split up into small kingdoms with independent rulers who styled themselves as *Rājā*. Their languages also were different, as we observe today in the Provinces of India. The Persian language, before the Ghaznavīds entered Hindūstān, was current in the Central

[1] Ibid., p. 24.

[2] The Sayyid dynasty has not been mentioned, as its part in the uplift of Persian art and literature was comparatively small, and is fully covered by the Tughlaq and the Lodī rule.

Asian States, and its chief centres were reckoned to be Khurāsān, Herāt, Ghaznī and Balkh. In India, the Provinces of the Punjāb and Sindh were particularly affected, since large numbers of foreigners had been coming to India for the purposes of trade and travel. Besides, they had established social relations with Lāhore, owing to the innumerable Persian families having come and settled in its vicinity before Islām.[1] For these reasons Persian civilization and the Persian tongue were not alien to the Punjāb, and their influence, though unperceived in the beginning, had been exerting itself on the people for some time past. The people of Lāhore, in particular, were already susceptible to it, and the taste for Persian speech was clearly noticeable among them.

The dynasty immediately preceding the Ghaznavīd was the Sāmānīd. Its regime had lasted in Persia for about a century. The advance made by poetry in this period was remarkable because of the unprecedented patronage extended to arts and science by the Persian nobility and government. No details, however, need be given here of the extensive growth of literature in Persia under the Sāmānīds.[2] The average level attained by Persian compositions, the impetus given to various kinds of poetry, chiefly the *qaṣīdah* and the *ghazal*, and the polish which the langu-

[1] Vide Supra, pp. 7—9.
[2] A general survey is given in Chap. II (Sec. II), Supra.

age, as a whole, had received at the hands of the poets and other writers, might well be studied in the works of the earlier authors, wherein are preserved the specimens of all kinds of writings.

Persian poetry indebted to and founded on the model of Arabic poetry.

A careful study of Persian poetry in the early days in Persia reveals the fact that it was founded on the model of Arabic verse. Arabic poetry exercised a great influence on Persian thought, a fact freely admitted by Persian poets themselves. As has been pointed out before, the 'Arabs, at the beginning of their conquests, dominated over Persia, and their civilization and culture became supreme in that country. For about two hundred years the literate Persians, after their conversion to Islām, paid little heed to their own literature. They followed Arabian ways, and studied the Arabic language, which every convert to Islām was by religion bound to do. In the third century, however, versification in the Persian tongue began, as it did, with the impress and print of Arabic poetry upon it. The composers either merely translated Arabic verse into Persian verse or reproduced the same thought in their composition. Arabic metres also were adopted with convenient modifications to suit Persian melody. In short, Persian poets took their cue from Arabic poetry, and acknowledged their indebtedness to the 'Arabs whom they regarded as their models in

the art of versification. For example, Mīnūchehrī, in a *qaṣīdah* which he composed in the metre and rhyme of the famous 'Arab poet Abu'sh Shīṣ, says:

بداں وزن ایں شعر گفتم که گفت ست ابوالشیص اعرابیِ باستانی
سالقاک واللیل ملق الجران غراب ینوح علی غصن بان

Again, declares Anwarī:

شاعری دانی کدامے قوم کردند آنکه بود
اولِ شاں امرءالقیس آخرِ شاں بو نواس

In fact, to be a poet in those days, the one essential condition was to remember by heart the famous *qaṣā'id* of the leading poets of Arabia, and a thorough acquaintance with the works of 'Arab poets, so as to inculcate in the national Persian poetry not only the same style and vigour, but to enliven it with Arabian expression and thought. The same Mīnūchehrī in a retort to a colleague of his, who was not very conversant with Arabic poetry, says with pride:

من بسے دیوانِ شعرِ تازیاں دارم زبر
تو ندانی خواندالاهبی بصحنک فاصبحین

General taste for Persian poetry in its own home dates from the third century A. H.

The people's taste for poetical composition in their own tongue in Persia dates from the third century A. H. When the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs of Baghdād ceased to be suzerains

and their influence declined, Persia was split into many small and independent states known as the *Ṯawā'if ul Mulūk*. Although stray instances of Persian verse, which belonged to the first and second centuries of the Hijrah, and even pre-Islāmic days, have been discovered, yet they are too scanty, and form no link with regular versification or the art of poetry in Persia. Men of genius paid all their attention to Arabic lore, and cultivated a taste for Arabian sciences and arts, which made them famous throughout Arabia and the Islāmic world as authors and poets in Arabic. It was more so in the time of the 'Abbāsīd suzerainty, when they took up the composition of *qaṣā'id* in Arabic, which the Caliphs' court well appreciated.

A striking feature of the 'Arab predominance over Persia: a reaction setting in after two centuries of occupation.

It is a matter worthy of notice that the 'Arab predominance in Persia had distinctly two phases which fell into two periods. One began with the conquest of Persia and lasted for about two centuries, when the whole country owed allegiance to Arabian civilization and literature, with the result that the native tongue, Persian, was for a time discarded by the Persian people as their literary medium. The other period opened with the third century, when a reaction set in. The Persian nation, realising its individuality, was ablaze with national fervour,

and this was the cause of the overthrow of Arabian influence and authority in Persia. The result was that the 'Arabs, who had in the beginning superimposed their culture on the Persians, were in their turn penetrated to the core by the latter's civilization and language. The 'Arab families had remained in Persia for a considerable time, and had established relations with its people, owing to the Caliphs' suzerain power. Thus the Persian national life and the Persian language had fully asserted their influence over the 'Arabs and found a soft corner in their hearts. They succumbed to Persian manners in the third and fourth centuries of the Hijrah, and took to the study of Persian literature of which they had taken no notice before. Their authors incorporated hundreds of Persian expressions in their Arabic works, to say nothing of innumerable words which permanently became part of the Arabic vocabulary. Their poets started translating Persian verse into Arabic verse, and entered into subtle niceties of thought.[1] Those of the 'Arabs who did not even go to Persia, nor had occasion to come into personal contact with the Persians, imitated Persian ways of life. Apart from the 'Arab officials, the 'Arab aristocracy too had adopted this fashion. One notable

[1] Cf. a similar feature in Persia when the Persian poets, in the beginning of their career, adopted Arabic verse as their model, and started their national poetry by translating Arabic verse into Persian verse.

instance is to be found in the mode of living of the Caliph Mu'tasim Billāh 'Abbāsī himself.[1]

Instances of Persian verse in Pre-Islāmic days.

Only a few instances of Persian poetry prior to the conquest of Persia by the 'Arabs are available. The first person who, according to 'Aufī, composed a verse in Persian was Bahrām Gūr:—

[2]و قتے آں پادشاہ در مقامِ نشاط و موقفِ انبساط ایں چند کلمۂ موزوں بلفظ راند :-

منم آں شیرِ گله منم آں پیلِ یله نامِ من بهرام گور و کنیتم بو جبله

Bahrām was brought up in Arabia, and was a poet by temperament. He had a full command of the Arabic language, and wrote poems in it, of which some are preserved to us even to this day. 'Aufī had himself seen his Arabic *dīwān* in the library of *Sar-Pul* in Bukhārā, and had transcribed many a poem in his note-book.[3] His two verses, which he had composed in reply to the desire of his kinsmen that he should marry a Persian noble's daughter, are quoted below:—

[1] Vide Supra, p. 24.
[2] 'Aufī, Lubāb, vol. I, p. 20.
[3] Cf.— وبندہ در کتابخانۂ سر پل بازار چۂ بخارا دیوانِ او دیدہ است و در مطالعه آوردہ است و از انجا اشعار نوشته و یاد گرفته –
(Ibid., p. 19).

يرمون تزويجى من الكفو طُلّبا   ومالى من جنس الملوک عديل
ارى ان مثلى كالمحال وجوده   وليس الى نَيل المحال سبيل

His two other verses are as follows:—

فقلتُ له لما نظرتُ جنودَه   كانک لم تسمع بصولات بهرامِ
فانّى لَحَامى مُلک فارسَ كله   وما خيرُ ملکٍ لا يكون له حامِ

Another notable instance of Persian verse is to be found in an inscription engraved on a broken arc of the *Qasr i Shīrīn*, discovered in the time of 'Azdud-daulah of Dailam. It is considered to be older than Bahrām Gūr's time. It is as follows:—

[1]هژبرا بكيهان انوشه بذى   جهان را بديدار توشه بذى

One verse quoted by Mīrzā Asad Bēg in his Bayāz runs thus:—

زيان دارد آں هژ برا به دَدُها   او شاه ابر نكه نو ژدا نترسا

There is yet another mentioned in the Tazkira i Āi i Ghaznīn:—

زنِ شاهست در داور گردا   گَوُز گر دد نه دارد بيم از كس

Besides these few stray verses, there is one Pahlawī epic poem "*Yātgār-i-Zarīrān*" which is attributed to Zoroaster. It is surmised that this poem

[1] Daulat Shāh, p. 17. (Bombay).

served as an incentive to Firdausī and a model for his *Shāh Nāmah* almost a thousand and five hundred years later. It sings the heroic deeds of the warriors, and extols the powers of the deities. Its rhyme, however, is not perfect, and it has a prosaic tone, which depicts the nature of ancient Persian poetry. It is popularly called "*Shāh Nāma-i-Gushtāsp*" or "*Pahlawī Shāh Nāmah*". Further, the two famous minstrels of the Sāsānian regimes, who flourished at the court of Khusrav i Parvīz, were Bārbad and Sarakhsh. They have been mentioned by almost all the historians of Persia. The ballads of the former (نوای باربد) are well known to every student of Persian. Sharīf Mujallidī of Gurgān refers to them in the following quatrain:

[1]ازان چندان نعیم این جهانی   که ماند از آل ساسان و آل سامان
ثنای رودکی ماندست و مدحت   نوای باربد ماندست و دستان

These ballads were thirty in number, and were known as سی لحن (thirty musical notes). They were sung on thirty days of the month, each ballad corresponding to a day.

Another important specimen of Persian verse of this period is the following religious song which was composed and sung in Īrān by the followers of Zoroaster:

[1] Chahār Maqālah, p. 35 (Lucknow).

[1] فرخت بادا روش خنیده گرشاسپ هوش
همی پرست از جوش نوش کن می نوش
دوست بدا گوش بآفرین نهاده گوش
به آغوش ۱۲
همیشه نیکی کوش دی گذشت و دوش
شاها خدا یگانه بآفرین شاهی

This shows that Persian poetry, however meagre in form, had existed in Īrān in almost every period of the Pre-Islāmic era. There were poets present until the eve of the rise of Islām, as is evidenced by a reference occurring in the 'Arab writer 'Abdullāh Ibn Muqaffa's Preface to his Arabic translation of the Sanskrit story of *Kalīlah-Damnah.* He says that Naushīrwān had held a public *darbār* and a banquet, to which he had invited all the poets and scholars of his court to celebrate the occasion of the first arrival of this Sanskrit story from India. His special messenger, Barzawaih ibn Azhar, a famous philosopher and physician of his day, who knew Sanskrit well, was the bearer of this work.

Causes of the dearth of Persian poetry in the first and second centuries of the Hijrah.

The Greek invasion of Persia was a precursor of great disaster and had wrought havoc in the country, causing wide-spread destruction and discontent in the land. Royal man-

[1] Tārīkh i Sīstān, p. 37.

sions and public buildings were all pillaged and burnt. Their religious literature also met with the same fate, and was destroyed in this turmoil. That which remained was again subject to destruction at the hands of the Parthians, whose kingdom lasted for about five centuries. During their regime the national literature of the Zoroastrians met a set-back, and their sacred books were searched and destroyed. This process went on until the overthrow of the Parthians by the Sāsānīds in 226 A. D., when peace was restored in the country, and people enjoyed protection under a strong government against such inroads. In short, the national literature of Persia had been despoiled twice before the 'Arabs appeared on the scene. With regard to the dearth of Persian poetry itself, the following points will have to be observed:—

I. The first cause which appears on the surface is that there seems to have been very little poetry in existence in Persia after the ravages by the Greeks and the Parthians. In fact, the Sāsānian regime cannot boast of any great poets like those who flourished in Persia after the 'Arab conquest and its conversion to Islām, such as Abul 'Abbās, Rūdakī, Daqīqi, 'Unṣurī, Firdausī and others. Also, there is no reference to any substantial poetical works in the ancient records that survive, nor are any specimens handed down to us in the form of inscriptions or by

word of mouth, except some religious songs,[1] which give no clue to the existence of any serious and regular poetic art practised in the period under review. These events show that there was indeed very little taste for poetry left among the Persians, and their poetical activities had been reduced to a minimum by the time the 'Arabs made their appearance in Persia.

II. The second cause seems to be that, after the 'Arab occupation of Persia, the Persians had embraced Islām and adopted Arabic, the language of the conquerors, as their literary medium, in preference to their own mother tongue; and so did their poets who sang of the praises of the Caliphs in Arabic, in expectation of rewards and appreciation from them.

III. The third reason appears to be that the 'Arab invasion of Persia was followed by a change of religion for the Persian people, when every house resounded with the Islāmic formula in the Arabic tongue. A cultured people like the Persians, who came to realize the unity of God, after centuries of darkness, devoted themselves, above everything

[1] 'Aufī refrains to classify them under poetry on the ground that there was neither rhyme nor metre in them, cf.—

در عهدِ پرویز نوای خسروانی که آنرا باربد در صوت آورده است
بسیار است فاما از وزنِ شعر و قافیت و مراعاتِ نظائر آن دور است –

(Lubāb, Vol. I, p. 20).

else, to the new religion and its literature. In Arabia itself, the same phenomenon had happened. When the verses of the Qur'ān were revealed to the Holy Prophet of Islām, the 'Arab poets who recited their poems at the public places and at the Fairs at '*Ukkāẓ*, and even hung their compositions on the door of the *Ka'bah*, remained mute for years to come, being overawed by the superior intelligence of the Arabic text of the Holy Qur'ān. The Persians, indeed, had with them little literature of their own worth the name, except the alleged hymns and the legendary tales of their gods Ahrīman and Yezdān which, after the teachings of Islām, appeared to them slight and scarcely worth serious attention.

IV. The fourth obvious reason was that the Persians had their own refined culture, and their standard of society was higher than that of the 'Arabs, who were accustomed to hardships of life and plain living. Then again, the fertility and the richness of the Persian soil, as compared with the barrenness of Arabia, had made the Persians fond of an easy, comfortable life. They sought refinement in everything; their motto of life was their wine-cup which virtually taught them to remain contented with what they possessed. Thus it could be seen that they had no ambition or adventurous spirit like the 'Arabs, whose poetry was enlivened with new ideals and heroic sentiments wanting in the Persian people. This was again a set-back to the revival of their

national poetry and literature to which they, for the time being, seem to have paid little or no attention.

V. The fifth reason was that Arabic literature had become comparatively richer in sciences and arts during the earlier centuries of the 'Arab occupation of Persia. The Persians too had contributed to its uplift by adopting the Arabic language as their literary medium. Persian, on the other hand, was neglected in its own home, and its literature also remained poor in material and scope, specially after it had been ransacked by the Greeks and the Pārthians.

In the face of the above facts, it is wrong to suppose that the 'Arabs destroyed or meddled with the literature of Persia. The accusations of the later historians are spurious and have no foundation in fact. The subsequent causes that appear to be solely responsible for the inattention of the Persian people towards their own poetical culture, in the early centuries of the Hijrah, have been briefly stated above and are fully supported by historical facts and internal evidence.

Before entering into the main subject and dilating on the Persian of Maḫmūd's time, it seems expedient to mark the stage of its progress prior to his entry into Hindūstān. A short general survey of Persian poetry, demarcating the line of its progress in subject-matter and style, from the very inception

of poetic taste in Persia under Islām to the eve of the Ghaznavīd ascendancy, now follows, with a view to helping the reader to understand and appreciate better the age of Maḥmūd.

Section II—(i) The first poet in the Persian language under Islām in the 1st century A. H.

(ii) The experiments and activities of poets in the various branches of Persian poetry with their characteristic features during the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries of the Hijrah, which cover the Ṯāhirīd, the Ṣaffārīd and the Sāmānīd regime.

Persian poetry had not yet made its appearance outside Persia when the Caliph al-Māmūn of Baghdād appointed a noble man of his court, 'Abdullāh Ṯāhir bin Ḥusain, as the governor of Khurāsān. The story of his exaltation to this high office was that al-Māmūn had, at first, deputed him against his elder brother, al-Amīn, who was the rightful successor to the Caliphate and was in possession of the throne at Baghdād. Ṯāhir accomplished this task to his master's satisfaction by laying siege to the royal palace and forcing al-Amīn to abdicate in favour of his younger brother.[1] He also caused the death of al-Amīn who was under a guarantee of protection of his life, and was permitted to swim across the Tigrīs to make good his escape. But while the latter was yet in the middle of the stream, Ṯāhir's men, who were lying in ambush, shot their arrows at him and killed him before he

[1] وكان الامين كثيراللهو. . .فا قبل ينكث عهدالما مون فجهزالمامون لقتاله طاهر بَن الحسين و هر ثمة بَن اعين فسارا اليه وَ حاصراه ببغداد الخ
(Ibn Khaldūn Chap. on al-Māmūn).

could reach the other side. His head was cut off and sent to al-Māmūn who immediately proclaimed himself Caliph. Nevertheless, he remained penitent ever afterwards, and wept over his brother's fate in moments of solitude. The first thing he did by way of penance was to remove Ṯāhir from his presence by sending him away to Khurāsān as its governor, for otherwise it was difficult to get rid of him and his growing influence at the Capital. The next step was to issue secret instructions for putting him to death, which were carried out by the officials in Khurāsān. Ṯāhir was succeeded by several governors who, though they outwardly wielded authority in the name of the Caliphs of Baghdād, were virtually independent rulers. This line of kings is known in history as the Ṯāhirīd dynasty which ruled in Persia from 205 A. H. to 260 A. H. The Ṯāhirīds were succeeded by Ya'qūb Ṣaffār, 'Umar bin Laiṣ and Ṯāhir bin Muḥammad, who all died in rapid succession, giving place to the Ṣāmānīd dynasty whose regime in Persia may be called the Golden Age of Persian National Poetry and Arts.

Persian poetry under the Ṯāhirīd and the Ṣaffārīd regime.

The progress made by the people in the art of versification, during the period covered by the Ṯāhirīd and the Ṣaffārīd dynasties of Persia, was limited in scope and character. Of the various forms practised, *qaṣīdah*, *maṣnawī*, *ghazal* and *rubā'ī* stand out prominently. Examples of experiments, together

with the extent of the popular taste and the number of poets that arose, will clearly demonstrate the general tendency and the level reached in the art of Persian poetic composition. A short selected list taken from the early Arabic and Persian chronicles is as follows:

1. Yazīd Ibn Mufarrigh Ḫimyarī of Yemen.
2. Ḫakīm Abu Ḫafṣ.
3. Abul 'Abbās Mervī.
4. Ḫinẕalah Bādghīsī.
5. Maḫmūd Warrāq.
6. Abū Salīk Jurjānī.
7. Sa'īdā i Hiravī.

The first specimen of Persian verse under Islām.

A very strange thing for Persian poetry was that the first poet in the Persian language under Islām happened to be a non-Persian, viz., the celebrated 'Arab poet, Yazīd ibn Mufarrigh of Yemen, a reference to whom has already been made at the beginning of the preceding chapter.[1] There are two very interesting specimens of Persian verse preserved in the early Arabic records, of which one belongs to a period prior to Ḫakīm Abū Ḫafṣ, who was hitherto known to be the pioneer in the field of Persian metrical composition. This specimen verse is from Ibn Mufarrigh who seems to have composed it in about

[1] Vide Supra. pp. 18—19.

60 A. H. The circumstances of the composition of this verse may be briefly stated here.

During the Caliphate of Yazīd Ibn Mu'āviyah (60-64 A. H.), the famous 'Arab general, 'Abbād ibn Ziyād, was sent by the Caliph to Sīstān as its governor. Along with him the 'Arab poet, Ibn Mufarrigh, also went. On reaching Sīstān, 'Abbād got so deeply absorbed in administrative work and in fresh conquests that he lost all interest in Ibn Mufarrigh. The 'Arab poet felt sore and annoyed at this neglect of himself by 'Abbād. So, he left Sīstān and satirised Ziyād's house and 'Abbād's mother, Sumayyah, in verse, which grew popular and was sung in the streets of Baṣrah and the towns of 'Irāq. 'Abbād, getting enraged at this, ordered the arrest of Ibn Mufarrigh, and sought the Caliph's permission to kill the offender. The Caliph, however, did not grant 'Abbād this permission, but wrote to him to punish the culprit in any way he liked other than by putting him to death. 'Abbād, thereupon, ordered that Ibn Mufarrigh be plied with *nabīẕ*[1], and a dog, a cat and a hog be tied to his waist, and in this fashion he be led through the principal markets of Baṣrah. When the poet was thus being taken round in Baṣrah, which had cultivated the taste for Persian speech and culture, and was followed by groups of people and street urchins who were asking him in Persian in jest این چیست

[1] A fermented liqour prepared out of dates and barley.

(what is this ?), he replied to them in the same refrain thus:—

[1] آبست نبیذاست عصارات زبیبست سُمیت روی شبیداست

The second specimen is a purely indigenous one. It was the sort of song which was sung in the streets of Balkh in 108 or 109 A. H. Ṯabarī writes about it thus:

[1] Aghānī, vol. XVII, p. 58.

Note :—Ibn Qutaibah gives the name of the governor as *'Ubaidullāh* bin Ziyād with a slight variation in the text of the last line of the verse and in the narration of the circumstances in which the poet was led through the streets of Baṣrah. Cf.—

فاخذه عبیدالله بن زیاد فحبسه و عذّبه و سقاه التربذ فی النبیذ و حمله علی بعیر و قرن به خنزیرة فامشاه بطنه مشیا شدیدا فکان یسیل منه ما یخرج علی الخنزیرة فتصی ء فکلما صاءت قال ابن مفرغ :—

ضجّت سمیّة لمّا مسّها القرن لا تجزعی إنّ شرّ الشیمة الجزع •

و سمیّة ام زیاد فطیف به فی از قة البصرة واسواقها والناس یصیحون خلفه (این چیست) لما یسیل منه و هو یقول :— آبست نبیذاست عصارات زبیبست سُمیه رو سفیدست

(Kitāb ush Shi'r wash Shu'arā, pp. 210-11).

This is to be noted that the 'Arab historians have mentioned only *three* lines; while the Persian chroniclers give *four* complete lines as follows:

آبست و نبیذ است و عصارات زبیب است
و دنبهٔ فربه و پی است و سُمیه هم رو سپی است

(Tārīkh i Sīstān, p. 96).

Abū Munẓir Asad bin 'Abdullāh al Qas̱rī, ruler of Balkh, led an expedition against Khuttalān in 108 A. H., but suffered defeat at the hands of the Turkish Amīr, Khaqān. Asad fled to Balkh to save his life. On his entering the city, he was hailed with the following satirical song sung by the people in the Persian language:

[1] از ختلان آمد یه   بر و تباه آمد یه
آبار باز آمد یه   خشک نزار آمد یه

Another specimen which takes precedence over the one just cited has been reproduced by Riẓa Qulī Khān Hidāyet. It was composed by Ḫakīm Abū Ḫafs̱, and is said to have been in existence in the 1st century A. H. It runs thus:—

[2] آهوی کوهی در دشت چگونه دودا   اوندار دیاربے یار چگونه بودا

There is yet a fourth specimen preserved in the form of two verses composed by Abul 'Abbās bin Tarkhān who was the chief Munshī of Ja'far Barmakī, the famous vazīr of Harūn ul Rashīd. They were found written on the barricade wall of the city of Samrqand towards the close of the 2nd century A. H. The date of their compôsition may be fixed between 174 and 177 A. H. They are as follows:—

[1] Ṯabarī, vol. II, p. 2. Leyden.
[2] Majma'ul Fus̱aḫā, vol. I, p. 64.

[1]سمر قند کند مند   بزینت کی افکند
از شاش نه بهی   همی شد نه جهی

The beginnings of Persian prose in the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Hijrah.

It will not be out of place to mention here in this connection that no specimens of Persian prose, pertaining to the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Hijrah, are recorded in history. During the 3rd and 4th centuries, however, a limited number of prose-works appeared which are important from the historical standpoint as being the earliest specimens of Persian prose-writing. With the advent of the 5th century A. H., this taste became distinctly more popular, and a good number of books were written and translated, which widened the scope of Persian literature, absorbing much of the subject-matter of foreign origin. The following list prepared from authentic sources shows at a glance some notable prose-works that had come into existence in Persia by the middle of the 5th century A. H.[2]

1. *Ā'īn i Buzurgī* (Laws of Greatness) by Dādbeh

[1] Kitāb ul Masālik wal Mamālik, p. 22.

[2] A valuable work entitled "فارسی نثر (قرن چهارم و پنجم) نمونهٔ سخن" (by Āqā Mahdī Bayānī, Officer-in-charge, Imperial Library, Teherān) was published at the Capital in the month of Āẕar, 1317. It gives a long list of prose-works, written during the 4th and 5th centuries of the Hijrah, together with specimens of their prose.

Pārsī, better known as 'Abdullāh ibn ul Muqaffa', written in about 237 A. H. This is, perhaps, the earliest specimen of Persian prose that is extant.[1] The author begins by a brief account of his ancestors. It was edited by a learned Persian, Āqā Behrūz, and printed and published at Teherān with a Preface by the editor in 1315 A. H.

2. The Persian translation of the Sanskrit story of *Kalīlah-Damnah* made from the Arabic version of 'Abdullāh ibn ul Muqaffa' in about 304 A. H., for Naṣr bin Aḥmad of the Sāmānīd dynasty. It was entrusted, on completion, to Rūdakī, the famous poet, who put it into Persian verse.

3. The Persian translation of *Tafsīr Kabīr*, an Arabic commentary of the Qur'ān by Abū Ja'far

[1] Āqā Mahdī in his work assigns the first place in the realm of Persian prose to مقدمۂ شاهنامه written in 346 A. H., at the instance of Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad bin 'Abdu'rrazzaq Ṭūsī, governor of Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr, asserting that it is the oldest prose in Persian extant. Cf. the statement:—

تاریخ اتمام این شاهنامه بطوریکه در مقدمۂ آن مصرح است سال
۳۴۶ میباشد و بنابر این قدیمترین نثری که بفارسی اکنون در دست است
همین مقدمۂ شاهنامۂ ابو منصوری است ؛

(p. 1).

This is an error, since there were already *two* well-known works (refer nos. 1 and 2 in the given list) in existence long before the author of the said *Shāhnāmah* was even born. The date of the one is 237 and that of the other is 304 A. H. The مقدمۂ شاهنامه may therefore occupy a third place in the list.

Muhammad ibn Jarīr Tabarī who died in 310 A. H., was made for Manṣūr I, after Tabarī's death, in 350 A. H.

4. The Persian translation of Tabarī's Arabic history entitled *Tārīkh ul Umam wal Mulūk* similarly made for Manṣūr I by his chief Minister, Abū 'Alī Bal'amī, in about 352 A. H.

5. The Persian translation of the Pahlawī text of the *Khudā i Nāmah* made for the same monarch by his learned Munshī, Qāẓī Abū Manṣūr bin 'Abdurrazzāq Mu'ammarī, in 352 A. H.

6. The Persian work *Kitāb ul Abniyah'an Haqā'iq ul Adviyah* by a learned physician, Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaq of Herāt, on Greek medicine. The year of its composition is 360 A. H. A copy of it in the Kūfī character, dated Shawwāl 447 A. H., is preserved in the library of Vienna, of which a reprint was published by Seligmann in 1859 A. D.

7. An old Persian commentary of the Qur'ān of about the same period exists in the University Library, Cambridge. This is the second part of the work which has survived, and deals with the latter half of the Qur'ān. The first part has not yet been traced.

8. *Tarjumān ul Balāghat* on Persian prosody and rhetoric by Abul Hasan 'Alī Farrukhī, the famous poet of Sultān Mahmūd's court. It was written at Ghaznī in about 395 A. H., before the author's entry into Hindūstān. It is mentioned by Hājī Khalfah

and Daulat Shāh Samarqandī in their works. The latter has also quoted one sentence from it. No copy of it is so far known to exist anywhere.

9. *Tārīkh i Barāmakah* written in chaste Persian towards the close of the 4th century A. H. Its author appears to be one Abul Qāsim bin Ghassān who, in the Preface, styles himself as گرد آورندهٔ اخبار آلِ برمک (the collector of the accounts of the Barmacids). The work was discovered by Mīrzā 'Abdul 'Aẕīm Khān Gūrkānī, lecturer in Persian in the University of Ṯeherān, and printed and published under his editorship in 1353 A. H.

10. *Ghāyat ul 'Arūẓiyyīn* on Persian prosody by Abul Ḫasan 'Alī al Bahrāmī al Sarakhshī, who was a poet of Sultān Mahmūd's court, and later became an associate and council of Sultān Mas'ūd. The author of Al-Mu'jam, Shamsuddīn Muḫammad bin Qais al Rāzī, has actually drawn much material from this work in his compilation.

11. *Kanz ul Gharā'ib* on rhetorical beauties of verse by Aḫmad bin Muḫammad al Manshūrī, a poet of Sultān Mahmūd's court. A reference to this work occurs in the *Taẕkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn* which fixes the date of its authorship between 399 and 401 A. H. The famous Persian author and poet Rashīduddīn Watwat appears to have later consulted this work while writing his book *Ḫadā'iq us Sihr*, which contains several formulae and canons

of its predecessor with very little change in language. An imperfect copy of it dated 977 A. H., 6th Rajab, is preserved at the Āsī Press Library, Lucknow.

12. *Mi'rāj Nāmah*, a brief philosophical discourse by Avicenna on *mi'rāj* (the ascension of the Holy Prophet). It was written during the author's stay in the service of Amīr 'Azduddīn 'Alā'uddaulah of Isfahān in about 419 A. H. The work is mentioned in the list of books assigned to Avicenna by his pupil 'Abdul Wāhid Ibn Muhammad Jauzjānī. It received the attention of the Persian scholars in recent years, and has been printed and published with a Preface by Professor Bahrām Karīmī at Resht in 1352 A. H.

13. *Risāla i Nabziyah*, a very short medical treatise on the art of examining the pulse by the same author. It was written for Amīr 'Alā'uddaulah during the same period of Avicenna's stay at Isfahān (417-428).

14. *Dānish Nāma i 'Alā'ī*, by the same author. It is a discourse on the *five* branches of philosophical science (Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Mathematics and Music). It was similarly written in Persian *darī* for the same Amīr, and completed just before the author's death which occurred in 428 A. H. The work was edited after his death by the same pupil, 'Abdul Wāhid, who declares that the original section on Mathematics was lost, and that the deficiency was supplied by him. Three sections on

Logic, Ethics and Metaphysical science have been printed in India.

15. *Naurūz Nāmah*, a short treatise by the famous Persian astronomer and poet, 'Umar Khayyām, believed to have been written in the beginning of the 6th century A. H. It deals with the history and origin of the festivities of the Persian New Year in a most simple and un-adorned style. The published copy is based on the unique Berlin manuscript which attracted the attention of some orientalists in recent years. It was edited by Āqā Mujtabā Mīnūvī, and published in 1352 A. H.

16. *Zīnat Nāmah*, on prosody by Abū Muhammad 'Abdullāh al Rāshidī of Samarqand who was the court poet of Sultān Malikshāh Saljūqī. It was written some time after 425 A. H. The work is mentioned by Hājī Khalfah and 'Aufī. No copy of it is known to survive.

17. *Khujistah Nāmah*, on metre and rhyme. 'Aufī in his *Lubāb* assigns the work to Abul Hasan 'Alī al Bahrāmī al Srakhshī, author of the *Ghāyat ul 'Arūziyyīn*. The date of its authorship may be fixed between 427 and 431 A. H. No copy of it is extant.

18. *Tārīkh i Baihaqī*, by Abul Fazl Muhammad of Baihaq. It is a most important work of the Ghaznavīd period. It deals with the history of the reign of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, from 421 to 432 A. H. It is the remaining portion of an extensive history of the Ghōr Dynasty which is

said to have consisted of no less than 30 volumes, as stated by Mīrkhwand. Its proper title was آل سبکتگین جامع تاریخ. The part which is extant is appropriately called تاریخ مسعودی after the name of Sulṯān Mas'ūd, with whose administration and achievements it exclusively deals. It comprises volumes VII, VIII, and IX of the original work. The author, when recording his master's death in 431 A. H. (p. 749), says that he had been working under him for 19 years, and had always been treated by him with the utmost consideration and fatherly love. The work is brought down to the month of Ṣafar 432 A. H., and has been printed and published in instalments in India and Persia.

19. *Zain ul Akhbār*, also called *Tārīkh i Gardezī* after the name of its author, Abū Sa'īd 'Abdu'l Raḥmān bin Ẕaḥḥāk bin Maḥmūd Gard- ezī, who was a contemporary of al-Bīrūnī. It was written at Ghaznī in 440 A. H., on the pattern of al-Bīrūnī's *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah*. A part of it has been printed and published under the editorship of Dr. Nāẕim at Berlin from the rare manuscripts in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

20. *Farhang i Fārsī*, by 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Asadī Tūsī, the chief poet of the court of Sulṯān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It is also called *Lughāt i Furs* (Persian lexicon). It is a valuable poetical record of the early poets who mostly lived in the author's time, and is believed to have been written in 443 A. H. (circ.).

References to this work occur in many of the historical, biographical and poetical records belonging to the 5th and 6th centuries of the Hijrah.

21. *Safar Nāma i Ḥakīm Nāṣir Khusrau*, by Abū Mun'im Nāṣir bin Khusrau of Merv, who was a clerk in the government Accounts Office in Khurāsān. The work is a narrative of his journey to Mecca, which he undertook in 437 A. H. to perform *Ḥaj*, in pursuance of a dream he had in his sleep. He took full five years to reach Mecca, travelling by a longer route through Nīshāpūr, Dāmghān, Rai, Qazvīn, Moṣal, Alleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo, and making prolonged halts in the towns and cities he visited on his way. He returned to Merv in 444 A. H., travelling along the Arabian coast through Yemen, Makallah, Baḥrain, Baṣrah and Iṣfahān. In the same year he wrote his book of travel in simple and chaste language, describing fully the experiences of his travel, the towns and places he visited, and the people he met. It has been printed and published in Berlin and Teherān. A recent edition by Dr. Nāẓim has appeared from the University Press, Cambridge.

22. *Tārīkh i Bal'amī*, by Muḥammad bin 'Abdullāh-al-Bal'amī, the famous *vazīr* of Naṣr bin Aḥmad of the Samānīd dynasty. It was written by the author in his old age in about 446 A. H.

23. *Tārīkh i Sīstān*, by Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Mawālī written in about 448 A. H., and subsequently continued by Maḥmūd bin Yūsuf Iṣfahānī in the first

quarter of the 8th century A. H., after a gap of more than two and a half centuries from the date of the author's death. This is a very important historical work which throws ample light on the literary aspects and poetical activities of Persia during the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th centuries of the Hijṛah. The work was lately discovered in Persia, and edited by Bahār, the poet-laureate of modern Persia. It has been printed and published at Ṯeherān with a copious index and valuable notes and appendices by the editor.

The poets of the 2nd century A.H., and the first specimen of a *qaṣīdah.*

After the 'Arab poet, Yazīd Ibn Mufarrigh, and the Persian poet, Hakīm Abū Ḫafṣ, who lived and composed the historic Persian verses in the 1st century A. H., there arose in Persia numerous poets in the 2nd century of the Hijrah, whose works may be said to possess an abiding place in the realm of Persian poetry. Of these, Abul 'Abbās and Ḫinẕalah deserve special mention. The first-named composed a marvellous *qaṣidāh* eulogising the Caliph al-Māmūn, at Merv, in 193 A. H. Some lines recorded by 'Aufī are given below. In this *qaṣīdah* the poet asserts that no one ever wrote a like poem in Persian language before him:—

[1] ای رسانیده بدولت فرقِ خود تا فرقدین
گسترانیده بجود و فضل در عالم یدین

[1] Lubāb, Vol. I, p. 21.

Note :—Browne and Qazwīnī, the well-known modern critics, have expressed a doubt as to the authenticity of this *qasīdah*. While the former has preferred to remain silent as to his points of difference, the latter has come out with the following reasons :—(Bist Maqālah, p. 50)

1. The metre of the *Qasīdah* is Arabic (i.e. *Ramal Muṣamman Maqsūr*) which was not adopted in Persia until the close of 200 A. H. Hence if this qasīdah had been composed in that period, its metre should have been different.

2. Arabic words abound in this *qasīdah*, while the admixture of Arabic words with Persian speech was not so common up to the time of al-Mansūr. Also, the language of the *qasīdah* is more lucid than could be imagined to be in that age.

3. The Arabic metres came into vogue in Persia with their introduction by Khalīl Ahmad bin Farāhidī, whose death occurred in 175 A. H. ; while the date of the *qasīdah* is 193 A. H. It is, hence, inconceivable that during this short period of 18 years Arabic metres and rules of prosody had acquired so much popularity in Khurāsān, which was remote from the seats of learning in Arabia, that people began to compose verses in Arabic metres.

4. 'Aufī alone has made a mention of this *qasīdah* in his *Lubāb*, and no other writer from among his predecessors or contemporaries has made any reference to this important event.

These objections of Qazwīnī, specially Nos. 1 and 2, do not appear to be historically sound, although, *prima facie* it might strike a student of literature how the language of the *qasīdah* of Abul 'Abbās came to be so chaste, and why it abounds in Arabic words. But it is a fact universally acknowledged by early 'Arab historians and later Persian writers that the Persians, after their conversion to Islām in the first century of the Hijrah, were so profoundly influenced by 'Arab culture and inclined towards the acquisition of Arabic sciences and literature that they cared little to save their old literature or to continue their national poetry. By the close of the 2nd century A. H., they

مر خلافت را تو شایسته چو مردم دیدهٔ را
دینِ یزدان را تو بایسته چو رخ را هر دو عین

had attained complete mastery of Arabic, and their poets not only made abundant use of Arabic words in their Persian composition, but also wrote with ease in Arabic, and followed Arabic rhyme and metre. Abul 'Abbās was a good instance of this. He had acquired considerable knowledge of Arabic. Riẓā Qulī Khān observes as follows:—

خواجه ابوالعباس مروزی که درلسانِ تازی و پارسی طلیق اللسان
بود نظمے پارسی و عربی بهم آمیخته در مدحِ مامون منظوم و موزون نمود —

Khwājah Abul 'Abbās of Merv, who was fluent both in Arabic and Persian, prepared a composite poem, mixing Arabic with Persian vocabulary, in praise of al-Māmūn.

(Majma 'ul Fuṣaḥā, Vol. I, p. 64).

Another poet Waṣīf of Khujistān, who lived only 30 years after Abul 'Abbās, composed several *qaṣāi'd* in Persian which contain even a greater ratio of Arabic words than his predecessor's composition did. Not only this, but quotations and references from the Holy Qur'ān are noticeable in his verses, e.g. (الیوم) لمن الملک , کم من فئة قلیلة , and (کما امرت) فاستقم are used in the following lines:—

لمن الملک بخواندی توا میرا بیقین   با قلیل الفیه کد زاد دران لشکر کام

قولِ خداوند بخوان فاستقم معتقدی شو و بران بر بایست

In fact, a display of Arabic was held to be the sign of literary accomplishment; whereas mere Persian composition did not entitle an author to that distinction.

The Persians who are famous for adaptability thought it their religious duty to learn Arabic, because it was essential for offering their prayers and the reading of the Holy Qur'ān and

کس برین منوال پیش از من چنین شعرے نه گفت
مر زبان پارسی را هست تا این نوع بَین

the Traditions of the Holy Prophet.

Again, the lucidity of a composition much depends on the comprehension and capability of an individual poet. For example, Rūdakī, who belongs to the 3rd century A. H., is so fluent in his diction that he may easily be mistaken for a very modern poet like Qā'ānī who flourished in the 13th century A. H. Another example is Wasīf who has to his credit verses which seem to belong to the modern era. Notice the following:

ای امیری که امیرانِ جهان خاصه و عام
بندهٔ و چاکر و مولی و سگانند و غلام

اولِ مخلوق چه باشد زوال   کارِ جهان اول و آخر یکیست
قولِ خداوند بخوان فاستقم   معتقدی شو و بران بر بایست

دولتِ یعقوب دریغا برفت   ماند عقوبت به عقب بر حواس
هر چه بکردیم بخواهیم دید   سود ندارد ز قضا احتراس

(Tārīkh i Sīstān, pp. 210, 260 and 286).

The third objection as to how it was possible for the Persians to assimilate Arabic laws of poetry and follow them in their Persian composition within the short period of 18 years is a mincing of facts. First, the learned critic has erred in the counting of figures, i.e., 18 years have been calculated since 175 A. H., which is the year of Khalīl's death. But we have nothing to do with the date of his death as it throws no light on the real issue. We have only to see in what years the introduction of Arabic metres and laws of prosody took place in Khurāsān. According to the statement of the 'Arab historians, the date of Khalīl's birth is 100 A. H., and the rules and regulations of Arabic metres were introduced in Persia between the years 143 and 145 A. H.; while the date of the qasīdah is 193

لیک زان گفتم من این مدحت ترا تا این لغت
گیرد از مدح و ثنای حضرتِ تو زیب و زین

A. H. Hence it is evident that Arabic metres were popularised in Khurāsān during the long period of 50 years, and not 18 as stated by Qazwīnī. Again, these laws of poetry, which, however, remained a theory, were introduced and taught in schools which, as a matter of fact, produced no poets of repute. The real poetry came from outside. Poets like Abul 'Abbās, Hinzalah and Wasif, perhaps, never cared or waited for Khalīl's rules. They followed straight in the footsteps of the 'Arab poets who wrote long before Khalīl's birth.

The second point worthy of notice is that the historians have named Khurāsān دارالعلم, the seat of learning of that period. It was in fact the centre of Arabic and Persian cultures. Even Baghdād did not show so much educational awakening as did Khurāsān. Also, because practice generally preceded theory, it appears quite likely that the rules of poetry were framed long after they had been followed by the people in Persia. It was only at the stage when the Arabic metres had become common in Khurāsān, and the poets used to write in them, that the need was felt to prevent the mediocre poet from committing errors in his poetical composition. It is an admitted fact that the grammar of a language follows its literature.

The fourth objection that none of 'Aufī's contemporaries or predecessors has mentioned this important event, though partially true, is feeble. The *Tārīkh i Sīstān*, which is an earlier work does, no doubt, declare that there was no poet in Persia prior to Muhammad bin Wasīf, cf.—

محمد بن وصیف حاضر بود....پس شعر فارسی گفتن گرفت و اول
شعرِ پارسی اندر عجم او گفت و پیش از و کسے نگفته -

> Muhammad bin Wasīf was present......, so he took to Persian metrical composition. And the first Persian verse in Persia he composed, and none else did it before him (p. 209).

But this view cannot be relied upon, since there were poets

When this *qasīdah* was read in the open court, it was greatly appreciated and applauded by the audience. The Caliph was so very pleased with it that he conferred on Abul 'Abbās a costly robe of honour with rich presents and an annual grant of one thousand gold *mohars* for the rest of his life by way of reward.[1] 'Aufī remarks that no poet could supplant or even imitate this *qasīdah* up to the time of the

in Persia who composed verses in Persian even in the first and second centuries of the Hijrah, like Ibn Mufarrigh, Hakīm Abū Hafs Sughdī, Hinzalah Bādghīsī and 'Abbās bin Tarkhān. The author of the *Tārīkh i Sīstān* was evidently not aware of the existence of any of these poets, nor did he in his lifetime ever know their verses which were discovered later. The same may be said in the case of Abul 'Abbās whose *qasīdah* was similarly not known to this author.

[1] Rizā Qulī Khān agreeing with 'Aufī gives a good reason for the Caliph's attention and liberal support to Persian poetry in the following statement :—

چون مامون شعرِ فارسی کمتر شنیده بود و بواسطۀ حکمرانی در خراسان
بدانستنِ زبان پارسی شوق تمام داشت دل بدان اشعار و گفتار خوش‌کرده
و خواجه را به تحسین و احسان بنواخت و یک هزار دینار زرعین بصله
و جایزه وی علی‌الاستمرار مقرّر داشت -

(Majma 'ul Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 64)

Note:—The real reason probably was that al-Māmūn, who had come from Baghdād to reside temporarily in Khurāsān, was seeking the sympathy and help of the Persian people for his political ambition against his brother, al-Amīn, who had succeeded to the Caliphate. This evidently he could not hope to gain without showing his goodwill and patronage to Persian letters.

Samānīds. This is the first specimen of *qaṣīdah*-writing that Persian poetry presents. It was so replete with poetic grace and grandeur worthy of a *qaṣīdah* that none ventured to attempt writing anything in that style for some time to come.

After this, we must notice the poetical effusions of Ḫinẕalah Bādghīsī (deceased 219 A. H.) who was a celebrated poet of the 2nd century A. H. The number of his verses is reported to be some thousands, but, unfortunately, his *dīwān*, which is mentioned by Niẕāmī 'Arūẓī Samarqandī, is lost today, and only two quatrains of his survive. He occupies the first rank among the earliest Persian poets for having enhanced the prestige of poetical composition as an Art, and compiled a *dīwān*, which has been regarded as a prototype for his contemporaries and successors. Niẕāmī has recorded this fact in connection with a strange incident. He says that Aḫmad bin 'Abdullāh Khujistānī rose from a very humble position to the exalted office of governor of Khurāsān through reading only two verses of Ḫinẕalah. One day when he was looking into Ḫinẕalah's *dīwān*, of which he was very fond and a copy of which he always kept with him, his eyes fell on the following quatrain:—

First specimen of *rubā'ī*.

[1]مهتری گر بکام شیر در است   تو خطر کن زکام شیر بجوی
یا بزرگی و عز و نعمت و جاه   یا چو مردانت مرگ رویا روی

If kingship lies within the jaws of a lion,
Risk thyself, and get it from his jaws;
Either you will attain greatness, honour, riches
and rank,
Or like the brave you will face death.

His manly ambition was stirred and he felt incited to improve his lot by striving hard to acquire an honourable place in life. Ultimately he succeeded in obtaining the governorship of Khurāsān, which was the richest Province of Persia, being the centre of Persian culture and trade. His second quatrain which fulfils the condition of rhyme also, and hence is worthy of being called perfect, is the following:—

[2]یارم سپنداگر چه بر آتش همی فکند
از بهر چشم تا نرسد مرورا گزند
اورا سپند و آتش ناید همی بکار
باروی همچو آتش و باخال چون سپند

An honoured contemporary of his was Mahmūd Warrāq whose year of death is given as 221 A. H. In other words, he died only two years after the death of Hinzalah. The dates of their birth are not recorded

[1] Chahār Maqālah, p. 34.
[2] Lubāb, Vol. II, p. 2.

anywhere, and because of this fact it is difficult to assert the priority of the one over the other. Like Hinzalah, Warrāq too was an eloquent and mighty poet though only one quatrain of his survives in the history of poetry:—

[1]نگارینا به نقد جانت ندهم گرانی در بها ارزانت ندهم
گرفتستم بجان دامانِ وصلت نهم جان از کف و دامانت ندهم

Two other poets of this period, who are worthy of notice, are Abū Salīk Iurjānī and Sa'īdā i Hiravī. Their works are equally scarce. But in what is preserved, we notice didactic and ethical features as the most prominent elements. Some verses by way of illustration are quoted below:

در صیانتِ عِرض

[2]خونِ خود را گر بریزی بر زمین به که آبِ روی ریزی در کنار
بت پرستیدن به از مردم پرست پند گیر و کار بند و گوش دار

وله

بمژه دل زمن بدز دیدی ای بلب قاضی و بمژگان دزد
مزد خواهی که دل زمن ببری این شگفتی که دید دزد بمزد

[1] Majma'ul Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 511.
[2] Lubāb, Vol. II, p. 3.

Note:—Rizā Qulī Khān Hidayet gives the last verse as follows:

مزد خواهی که دل زمن بردی ای شگفتا که دیده دزدی و مزد

(Majma 'ul Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 66)

General features of poetry in the 1st and 2nd centuries A. H.

The poetry of the first two centuries is indicative of the fluency and simple diction in which emotions are truly depicted. There is comparatively little hair-splitting and intricate philosophical conceit of the later poets in the poetry of this age. The similes used are for the most part natural, and the real meaning does not lie hidden under the thick veil of metaphorical language. The earliest characteristic of Persian poetry is this freedom from all complexity and obscurities. It throws light on the following points in particular:—

(*i*) A taste for poetry existed in Persia for some time past, prior to the advent of Islām, and the poets used to amuse themselves by the exercise of their wit. The fluency of the verses quoted above prove the fact that they could not have been the very first or the earliest attempts at verse-making.

(*ii*) The free admixture of Arabic words with Persian had started in Persia almost immediately after the 'Arab domination, and the poets regarded this as a source of the enrichment of the diction and enhancement of beauty of style.[1]

[1] Notice 18 Arabic words in the 4 couplets of Abul 'Abbās :—

(*iii*) The foundations of *qaṣīdah* and *rubā‘ī* were already laid. The verses quoted are the earliest specimens under Islām.

The poets of the 3rd and 4th centuries, and the advent of Persian poetry in India.

The list of the poets of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Hijrah is a long one. Among them there were many who wrote complete poetical works with facility, and laid the art of Persian versification under deep obligation, greatly widening and enlarging the field of various forms of poetry, e.g., the *maṣnawī*, *qaṣīdah*, *ghazal* and *rubā‘ī*. They framed rules for each of these in such a way that poetical composition became easier for their successors who have trodden the path with their eyes almost shut ever since. The taste for Persian poetry in India dates with the coming of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who led his army into the Punjāb towards the end of the 4th century A. H. He was the first great royal patron of poetry among all his predecessors and contemporaries, and it was he who founded the rank of *Malik ush Shu‘arā*[1] for the

فرق – دولت – جود – فضل – عالم – ید – خلافة – دین – عین –
منوال – شعر – نوع – یمن – مدحت – لغت – مدح – ثنا – حضرت –

Also, 4 Arabic words in the first quatrain of Hinẕalah :—

خطر – عز – نعمت – جاه –

[1] The term means "King of Poets" a title corresponding to *Poet-laureate*.

cultivation of Persian poetry. The first poet-laureate appointed by him was 'Unṣurī.

Poets of the 3rd century A. H.

The following is a selected list of the poets of the 3rd century which includes some of the best poets of the Samānīd regime:—

1. Muhammad bin Wasīf.
2. Muhammad bin Muhallad.
3. Fīrūz Mashriqī[1].
4. Rūdakī.
5. Abū Shakūr Balkhī.
6. Abul Mu'ayyid.
7. Abul 'Abbās Zanjānī.
8. Shahīd Balkhī.
9. Abū 'Abdullāh Farālāwī.
10. Khabbāzī Nīshāpūrī.
11. Abul Maṣal Kūhī.
12. Abul 'Ulā Nawa'ihī.
13. Abū Taqī Rāzī.
14. Murādī Bukhārī.

The Sāmānīd dynasty remained in power for over a century and a quarter prior to the Ghaznavīd dynasty, and, because of their literary taste and patron-

[1] In some biographical works the reading is "Mushrifī". "Mushrif" was an old habitation on the coast of Yemen, from where the dynasty is said to have migrated.

age, rendered distinguished service to Persian literature and art, specially to poetry. Their rule came to a close in 395 A. H., beginning from about 261 A. H., when the Caliph Mu'taẓid billāh had appointed the sons of Asad bin Sāmān as governors of the protected dominions of Persia and the Central Asian states. The dynasty was called after the name of Asad's father, Sāmān, who was an 'Arab. Asad, the founder of the dynasty, was a favourite noble of Mamūn ul Rashīd's court. Among his descendants, the most notable princes who helped in the uplift and evolution of Persian poetry were Naṣr bin Aḥmad bin Ismā'īl, Nūh and Manṣūr. Their court was the resort of men of letters. A short description of some of the distinguished poets from among those mentioned above is given below:—

Muhammad bin Wasif, Muhammad bin Muhallad and Fīrūz Mashriqī.

Muḥammad bin Waṣīf was a prominent poet of the Ṣaffārīd period who completed a *dīwān*. Those verses of his that are extant are in the form of panegyric odes. Of these, there are two important *qaṣīdas* composed in the manner and style of Abul 'Abbās. The one written on the occasion of Amīr Ya'qūb's conquest of Herāt and his peaceful possession of Sīstān, Kermān and Fārs is as follows:—

[1] ای امیری کت امیرانِ جهان خاصه و عام
بنده و چاکر و مولی و سگانند و غلام
از لی خطی در لوح که ملکی بد هید
بی ابی یوسف یعقوب بن اللیث همام
بلتام آمد زنبیل و لتی خور بلنگ
لتره شد لشکرِ زنبیل و هبا گشت کتام
لمن الملک بخواندی توا میرا بیقین
با قلیل الفیه کد زاد وراں اشکر کام
عمر عمّار ترا خواست و زو گشت بری
تیغِ تو کرد میانجی بمیانِ دد و دام
عمر او نزدِ تو آمد که تو چون نوح بزی
در آکار تنِ اوسرِاو باب طعام

His other *qaṣīdah* runs thus:—

[2] مملکتی بود شده بی قیاس   عمر و براں ملک شده بود راس
ازحدِ هند تا بحدِ چین و ترک   از حدِ زنگ تا بحدِ روم و گاس
راس زنب گشت و بشد مملکت   زر زده شد زنحوست نحاس
دولتِ یعقوب دریغا برفت   مانَد عقوبت بعقب بر حواس
عمرو عمر رفت و زو ماند باز   مذهبِ روباه به نسل و نواس
ای غمّا کا مد و شادی گذشت   بود دلم دائم ازین پر هراس
هر چه بکر دیم بخواهیم دید   سود ندارد ز قضا احتراس
ناس شدند نسناس آنکه همه   واز همه نسناس گشتند ناس

[1] Tārīkh i Sīstān, p. 210 (Note: only six lines are quoted).
[2] Ibid., p. 286.

دورِ فلک گردنِ چون آسیا — لا جرم این اُسّ همه گرد آس
ملک ابا هزل نکرد انتساب — نور ز ظلمت نکند اقتباس
جهد و جدِ یعقوب باید همی — تاکه ز جدّه بدر آید ایاس

And again:—

[1]کوششِ بندهٔ سبب از بخشش است — کارِ قضا بود و ترا عیب نیست
بود و نبود از صفتِ ایزد است — بندهٔ درماندهٔ بیچاره کیست
اولِ مخلوق چه باشد زوال — کارِ جهان اول و آخر یکیست
قولِ خداوند بخوان فاستقم — معتقدی شو و بران بربایست

Another poet of the same period was Muhammad bin Muhallad. Some of his Persian verses that survive are as follows:

[2]جز تو نزادِ حوّا و آدم نکشت — شیر نهادی بدل و بر منشت
معجزِ پیغمبرِ مکّی تو ئی — بکُنش و بمنش و بگُوشت .
فخر کند عمّار روزی بزرگ — که همانم من که یعقوب کشت

Next comes Fīrūz Mashriqī whose time was nearly a century prior to that of *'Unsurī* and about 65 years after Hinzalah. The date of his death is 283 A. H. Only one quatrain and one verse which give us some idea of his style are preserved:—

[1] Ibid., p. 260.
[2] Ibid., p. 212.

[1]مرغیست خدنگ ای عجب دیده   مرغیکه همه شکارِ او جانا
داده پرِ خویش کر گسش هدیه   تا بچه اش را برد به مهمانا

[2]سر و سمینِ ترا در مشکِ تر   زلفِ مشکینِ تو سر تا پا گرفت

Rūdakī, the renowned poet of the Samānīds; essentials of his poetry.

The leading poet of the Sāmānīd regime was Abū 'Abdullāh Ja'far bin Muhammad, surnamed Rūdakī. He was born blind and had a charming voice and could sing most beautifully. He was a great success as a courtier, and was a genius with a fine poetic taste and wit. While quite young, he entered the service of Nasr bin Ahmad, and rose to the high office of 'King's courtier'. Of the various forms of poetry, he enriched the ode and lyric, and raised their level to a high standard. His lyrics (*ghazals*) are marked by their fluency, simplicity and charm combined with a sonorous effect; while his odes (*qasā'id*), which retain all these qualities, display the essentials laid down by himself, viz., *tashbīb* (تشبیب),[3] *gurīz* (گریز)[4] and *du'ā* (دعا).[5] He has been

[1] Lubāb, Vol. II, p. 2.
Note the following variation in the first verse:—

مرغیست خدنگ او عجب دیدی   مرغیکه شکار او همه جانا

[2] Majma 'ul Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 381.
[3] Literally, to recall the youthful days. In a restricted

in this respect imitated by the Persian poets ever since. He was the first Persian poet who took a fancy for Indian thought and wit, and influenced the growth of Persian poetry in India. He put into verse the story of *Kalīlah-Damnah* from a simple prose version which was specially prepared for this purpose from the Arabic translation of Ibn ul Muqaffa'. Rūdakī undertook this work at the instance of his master, Naṣr bin Aḥmad, who had deputed men whose duty was to read to the blind poet portions from this prose text, and then take down his off-hand poetical rendering of the same.[1] Firdausī has referred to this historic incident in his great epic, the *Shāh Nāmah* thus:—

کلیله بتازی شد از پهلوی   بدینسان که اکنون همی بشنوی

sense, it signifies a discourse with the loved one and refers to the introductory lines of the ode written in praise of the person eulogised.

[4] A flight towards praise.

[5] The concluding part of a poem bearing the good wishes of the poet.

[1] It may be noted in this connection that all great poets had their reciters whose duty was to recite the poems of their masters on suitable occasions. It was considered below the dignity of a poet to recite his verses himself. The chief reciter of Rūdakī's verses was *Maj* who is addressed by Rūdakī thus:—

ای مج کنون تو شعرِ من از بر کن و بخوان
از من دل و سگالش و زتو تن و زبان

O *Maj*, thou shouldst now learn my poems by heart and recite them, From me comes the heart and the thought, and from thee the body and the tongue.

بتازی همی بود تا گاه نصر   بدانگه که شد در جهان شاه نصر
گرانمایه بوالفضل دستور اوی   که اندر سخن بود گنجور اوی
بفرمود تا پارسی و دری   بگفتند و کوتاه شد داوری
ازین پس بدو رسم و رای آمدش   بد و بر خرد رهنمای آمدش
همی خواستی آشکار و نهان   کزو یادگارے بود در جهان
گزارنده را پیش بنشاندند   همه نامه بر رودکی خواندند
به پیوست گویا پراگنده را   بسفت این چنین دُرّ آگنده را

This Indian story, which was regarded as a book of the wisdom of the *savants* of India, became very popular in Khurāsān and other parts of Persia. The Sanskrit story had been previously translated into Arabic and Persian prose, and these prose translations were in existence in Rūdakī's time, but the universal popularity of the tale demanded a poetical rendering of it by no less a person than the poet-laureate himself. When he finished the poem and presented it to the king, he was royally rewarded with a robe of honour and forty thousand *dirhams* in cash. 'Unṣurī, the poet-laureate of the Ghaznavīd court, refers to this great event thus:

چهل هزار درم رودکی ز مهتر خویش   عطا گرفت به نظم کلیله در کشور

Forty thousand *dirhams* Rūdakī from his master
Obtained for his poem *Kalīlah* in the king's dominion.

The contemporary and later opinion about him

is that no poet of such comprehensive skill ever lived before him. This is amply borne out by reference to his works. Rashīdī Samarqandī styles him as a *master of masters*, and states that he counted all the verses of Rūdakī *thirteen* times and found them to be over one hundred thousand. He says:—

[1]اگر سری یا بد بعالم کَس به نیکو شاعری
رودکی را بر سر آں شاعراں زیبد سری
شعرِ اورا بر شمر دم سیزده ره صد هزاَر
هم فزوں تر آید ار چوناں که باید بشمری

There is a very famous ode of his of which only six couplets, as quoted by Niẕāmī 'Arūẕī Samarqandī, are extant. It is not an ode but a practical sorcery. It is stated that Rūdakī composed this ode at the instance of the nobles of the court who had become quite tired and disgusted with being encamped on the lawns of Herāt in attendance upon the king for full four years. It was written simply to persuade the king to go back to Bukhārā. As soon as the ode was read out in the royal court, the king was so deeply moved by it that he ordered his army to leave for Bukhārā immediately. The king himself showed so much haste that he mounted his steed without even waiting for his riding boots to be brought to him, and knew no rest until he reached Bukhārā by a non-stop ride.

[1] Lubāb, Vol. II, p. 7.

Nizāmī describes this episode in the following words:

[1]نصر بن احمد که واسطهٔ عقد آل سامان بود.....در زمستان به ملک دارالملک بخارا مقام کردے و تابستان به سمر قند رفتے مگر یک سال نوبت هری بود به فصل بهار ببا دغیس بود که با دغیس خرم ترین چرا خوارهای خراسان و عراق است....چون امیر نصر بن احمد مهر گان و ثمرات او بدید عظیمش خوش آمد – امیر گفت تابستان کجا رویم که ازین خوشتر مقام نباشد مهرگان برویم و چون مهرگان در آمد گفت مهرگان هری بخوریم و برویم – همچنین فصلے به فصلے همی انداخت تا چهار سال برین آمد....همه ملول گشتند و آرزوی خانمان برخاست پادشاه را ساکن دیدند....پس سران لشکر و مهتران ملک بنزدیک استاد ابو عبدالله الرودکی افتند و گفتند پنج هزار دینار ترا خدمت کنیم اگر صنعتے بکنی که پادشاه ازین خاک حرکت بکند که دلهای ما آرزوی فرزند همی برد و جان ما از اشتیاق بخارا همی بر آید رودکی قبول کرد که نبض امیر گرفته بود و مزاج او بشناخته – دانست که به نثر با او درنگیرد روی به نظم آورد و قصیدهٔ بگفت و در پردهٔ عشاق این قصیده آغاز کرد :–

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی   یاد یار مهربان آید همی

پس فرو تر شود و گوید :

ریگ آموی و درشتیهای او   زیر پایم پر نیان آید همی
آب جیحون از نشاط روی دوست   خنگ مارا تا میان آید همی
ای بخارا شاد باش و دیر زی   میر سویت شادمان آید همی
میر ماه است و بخارا آسمان   ماه سوی آسمان آید همی

[1] Chahār Maqālah, pp. 39-43.

میر سر و است و بخارا بوستان   سر و سوی بوستان آید همی

چون رودکی بدین بیت رسید امیر چنان منفعل گشت که از تخت
فرود آمد و بی موزه پای در رکاب خنگ نو بتی آورده روی به بخارا نهاد
و عنان تا بخارا هیچ جای باز نگرفت و رودکی آن پنج هزار دینار مضاعف
از لشکر بستید....هنوز این قصیده را کس جواب نگفته است که مجال
آن ندیده اند –

"Naṣr bin Aḥmad, who was a precious link in the chain of the Sāmānīd dynasty, used to halt in winter at Bukhārā, and in summer at Samarqand. He remained in spring at Bādghīs because it is the happiest and most fertile meadow of Khurāsān and 'Irāq. When Amīr Naṣr bin Aḥmad saw its spring and its fruits, he was well pleased with it. The Amīr said, "Where could we go in summer, because there is no place better than this?" "We shall go in spring." But when the spring season came, he said he would remain and enjoy the spring at Herāt, and will go afterwards. In this way he postponed his departure from one season to the other until four years passed. All became weary, and the desire for going home obsessed them. They found the king unmoved. So the heads of the army and the officers of the government went to Abū 'Abdullāh al Rūdakī and said to him "We shall present you with five thousand *dinārs*, if you suggest some device by which the king should move from this place, because our hearts yearn for our children and our souls keenly desire to see Bukhārā.

Rūdakī accepted this request of theirs, for he had felt the pulse of the Amīr and understood his temper well. He knew that he could produce no effect upon the king by mere prose (i.e. talking to the king in plain language). He, therefore, turned his attention to poetry, and composed a *qaṣīdah*, and began to sing it in *parda i 'ushshāq* (lovers' air) as follows:—

The smell of the stream of the *Mūliyān* cometh,
The breath of the kind friend cometh.

Then in a lower note he sings:

The sands of the *Āmū* and its rough path
Come under my feet like silk;
The water of the *Jaiḥūn*, in its joy to see the face of the loved one,
Cometh up to the buttocks of our horses;
O Bukhārā, be happy and live long,
The Amīr cometh towards thee joyfully;
The Amīr is the moon, and Bukhārā the sky,
The moon cometh towards the sky,
The Amīr is the cypress, and Bukhārā the garden,
The cypress cometh towards the garden.

When Rūdakī came to this verse, the Amīr felt so much that he got down from his throne and walked up to the royal horse, and without putting on his leggings he rode off for Bukhārā, and did

not stop on the way until he reached his destination. Up till now none has composed a counterpart to this ode because not one dared do it."

The truth is that both in Rūdakī's lifetime and after his death, many a poet of repute tried to compete with him in the same metre, but none could attain his beauty of expression and thought. Even Amīr Mu'izzī, the *poet-laureate* of the court of Malik Shāh Saljūqī, who was later approached by people with a request to write a parallel ode, pleaded his inability to do so, saying, "I cannot." But when pressure was brought to bear on him by his friend and colleague, Zain ul Mulk Isfahānī, he composed a few couplets of which two are preserved as follows:—

رستم از مازند ران آید همی　　　زین ملک از اصفهان آید همی
آفرین و مدح و سود آید همی　　　گر به گنج اندر زیان آید همی

The difference between this composition and that of Rūdakī is apparent.

Rūdakī is the first poet who embodied in his ode the essential features of the true ode.

His گریز or 'skip', as displayed in the lines given below, is remarkable. He compares a garden to Paradise, and descanting thereon gracefully glides into praising the king, Abū Mansūr Sāmānī, almost without attracting our notice; nor is there any visible premeditation in this regard by the poet:—

[1] بود هر جا بهر نز هنگاه بار و نقل و مُل
گلستاں در گلستان و میوه اندر میوه زار
یارِ من گفتا بهشت است ای شگفت این باغ نیست
گفتم این باغیست خرّم چوں بهشت کردگار
آں بهشتِ ناپدید است این بهشت استے عیاں
این به نقد است آں به نسیه آں نهاں این آشکار
آں مکافاتِ نماز است این مکافاتِ مدیح
آں عطای کردگار است این عطای شهر یار

We do not find anything equal to this delicacy in Persian poetry prior to Rūdakī. During the Ghaznavīd days, ʻUnṣurī and Farrukhī closely followed in their odes his style which remained a standard up to the age of Salmān (deceased 785 A. H.). Rūdakī invariably begins his *qasīdah* in a key of sublimity and grandeur which the best poets of the later generation like Anwarī and Ẕahīr Fāryābī adopted. By way of

[1] Dīwān i Ustād Rūdakī, MSS. p. 22. The Āsī Press Library, Lucknow.

Note:—The Ṯeherān edition dated 1315 A. H. is not reliable, as it has hopelessly mixed up the works of Ḥakīm Qaṭrān, Rūdakī's contemporary. The verses quoted here as Rūdakī's composition were duly checked from a valuable MS. of the Dīwān of Qaṭrān in possession of my worthy friend, Dr. Hādī Ḥasan, who very kindly placed it at my disposal. For more information about Rūdakī's works and how they got mixed up with Qaṭrān's, vide Sa'īd Nafīsī's "احوال و اشعار ابو عبدالله جعفر محمد رودکی" published in 2 vols. at Ṯeherān (1309 A. H.)

example the opening verse of an ode is quoted below:—

[1] مشوش است دلم از کرشمهٔ سلمیٰ   چنانکه خاطر مجنون ز طرهٔ لیلیٰ

Three more couplets of this ode are as follows:—

چو گل شکر دهی ام دردِ دل شود تسکین
چو ترش روی شوی و ارهانی از صفریٰ
به غنچهٔ تو شکر خنده نشهٔ باده
به سنبل تو در گوش مهرهٔ افعیٰ
ببرده نرگس تو آب جادوی بابل
کشاده غنچهٔ تو باب معجزِ عیسیٰ

We find many illustrations of forceful portraiture and style in his works. Very often his odes contain such metaphors, similes and constructions as are found in modern poets. Besides, his language is sometimes so refined that we cannot help feeling that it is the work of Qā'ānī, a poet of the 19th century. One specimen illustrating this point is given below:

وله

[2] مرا بسود و فرو ریخت هر چه دندان بود
نه بود دندان لابل چراغ خندان بود

[1] Dīwān i Ustād Rūdakī, p. 103.
[2] Ibid., p. 8.

نه نحسِ کیوان بود و نه روزگار دراز
چه بود راست بگویم قضای یزدان بود
همی نه دانی ای ماه روی غالیه موی
که حالِ بنده ازین پیش بر چه سامان بود
شد آن زمانه که رویم بسانِ دیبا بود
شد آن زمانه که مویم بسانِ قطران بود
عیال نه زن و فرزند نه معونت نه
ازین همه تنم آسوده بود و آسان بود
تو رودکی را ای مہ کنون همی بینی
بدان زمانه ندیدی که زین خسیسان بود
بدان زمانه ندیدی که زی چمن رفتی
سر و دگویان گوئی هزار دستان بود
کرا بزرگی و نعمت ازین و آن بودی
کرا بزرگی و نعمت ز آلِ سامان بود
کنون زمانه دگر گشت و من دگر گشتم
عصا بیار که وقتِ عصا و انبان بود

The basic principle of his lyric poem; its introduction in Persia by him.

An ode, like a panegyric poem, originated from the poet's desire to honour some great person or place. Its essential features were the use of refined language and vivid description[1]. Later, it grew

[1] Notice the poem of Abul 'Abbās, the founder of the *qaṣīdah*, already cited, pp. 104—107, supra.

more pedantic with a tinge of Sūfīstic and philosophical thought. The language also became figurative and terse. A lyric, on the other hand, was a tender poem or sonnet composed in simple, sweet and chaste language in praise of one's object of love. It was a love-song in which a lover described to his beloved the pangs that he felt or his distraction and the pain of separation that afflicted him so that the beloved might be moved to pity him. But the beloved is depicted to be utterly callous and indifferent to all such wailings, and the reply put in his mouth by the poet is generally that of a proud and unsympathetic party. This sort of poetry was introduced and promoted in Persia by Rūdakī. Sa'dī, Khusrāu, Hasan, Hāfiz, Nazīrī and 'Urfī later built upon the same model. Some specimens from Rūdakī, showing his style and trend of thought, which constituted and later remained the essentials of a Persian lyric, are cited below:—

[1]چو بگشاید نگارِ من دو بادام و دو مرجان را
بدین نازان کند دل را بدان رنجان کند جان را

من و جانان بجان و دل فر و بستیم بازارے
که جان و دل مرا داد است من جان داده جانان را

نشاند اندر دلِ من دوست زهر آلوده پیکانے
که جز با جان ز دل نتوان کشیدن نوکِ پیکان را

[1] Dīwān i Ustād Rūdakī, p. 5.

وصال و هجرِ او اصلی است دایم رنج و راحت را
به جنگ و آشتی مایه است دایم درد و درمان را
به کفر ایمان تبه گردد و لیکن رنجِ مردم را
زمانه بر د دین و دل به کفر آر است ایمان را
چو نارِ کفته دارم بده ز نارِ تفته آگنده
ازان کا هیته دل دادم نگارِ نار پستان را
ازان کا هیته پنهان کرد از من روی پیدا را
سرِ شکِ روی زردم کرد پیدا رازِ پنهان را

وله

[1]رودکی چنگ بر گرفت و نواخت باده انداز کو سر و دنواخت
آن عقیقِ مئی که هر که بدید از عتیق گداخته نشناخت
هر دو یک گوهر اند لیک بطبع این بیفسرد و آن دگر بگداخت
تا بسوده دو دست رنگین کرد تا چشیده بتارک اندر تاخت

وله

[2]بهار آن مَی که پنداری روان یاقوتِ ناب استی
و یا چون بر کشیده تیغ پیشِ آفتاب استی
بپاکی گوئی اندر جام مانندِ گلاب استی
بشادی گوئی اندر دیدهٔ بیخواب خواب استی
سحاب استی قدح گوئی و می قطره سحاب استی
طرب گوئی که اندر دل دعای مستجاب استی

[1] Ibid., p. 7.
[2] Ibid., p. 102.

اگر مے نیستی یکسر همه دلها خراب استی
و گر در کالبدِ جاں را بدیدستی شراب استی
اگر این مے بابر اندر به چنگالِ عقاب استی
ازاں با نا کساں هرگز نه خوردندی صواب استی

Rūdakī has shown skill and efficiency in elegiac poetry as well. In one of his poems all the essential features of an elegy are found to their fullest extent, for example, he recounts in great detail the virtues of the deceased and his generous and charitable disposition in life towards all, so that the audience might be overcome with grief in the same way as the mourners, and join with them in their mourning for the dead, feeling the bereavement as their own. He has a marvellous elegy on the death of an Amīr's son who died in the prime of his youth. In this, he depicts very beautifully the father's grief, and exhorts him to complete surrender and submission to the Divine Will. A few lines from it are quoted below:—

His elegiac poetry

[1] ای آنکه غمگینی و سزاواری — و اندر نهاں اشک همی باری
رفت آنکه رفت آمد آنکه آمد — بود انچه بود خیره چه غمداری
مستی مکن که نشنود او مستی — زاری مکن که نشنود او زاری
شو تا قیامت ایدر زاری کن — کی رفته به زاری باز آری

[1] Ibid., p. 104.

ابری پدید نی و کسوفی نه   بگرفت ماه و گشت جهان تاری
اندر بلای سخت پدید آمدند   فضل بزرگواری و سالاری
همواره کرد خواهی گیتی را   گیتی است کی پذیرد همواری

Another instance of his elegiac poetry is a *rubā'ī* (quatrain) which he had composed on the death of a contemporary poet, Abul Hasan Murādī Bukhārī:—

مُرد مرادی نه همانا که مُرد   مرگِ چنان خواجه نه کاریست خُرد
جانِ گرامی به پدر باز داد   کالبدِ تیره بر مادر سپرد

First instance of a chronogrammatic composition in the history of Persian poetry:—a *rubā'ī*.

One *rubā'ī* composed on the death of another colleague, Shahīd Balkhī, gives the date of that event. This is the first instance of a chronogrammatic composition in the history of Persian poetry, and is reproduced as under:—

[1] کاروان شهید رفت از پیش   و آنِ ما رفته گیر و می اندیش
[2] از شمارِ دو چشم یک تن کم   در شمارِ خرد هزاران بیش

Some more *rubā'īs* are as follows:—

چون کارِ دلم ز زلفِ او مانده گره   در هر رگِ جان صد آرزو مانده گره
امید ز گریه بود افسوس افسوس   کان هم شبِ وصل در گلو مانده گره

[1] Ibid., p. 112.
[2] Ibid., p. 113.

وله

[1] مهتران جهاں همی مردند مرگ را سر همی فرو کردند
از هزاراں هزار نعمت و جاه روز آخر یکے کفن کردند

وله

[2] ای از گل سرخ رنگ بر بوده و بو رنگ از پی رو ربوده بو از پی مو
گلگون گردد چه روی شوئی همه جو مشکین گردد چه موفشانی همه کو

وله

[3] با آنکه دلم از غم هجرت خونست
شادی بغم تواَم ز غم افزونست
اندیشه کنم هر شب و گویم یارب
هجر انش چنین است و صالش چونست

In *qiṯʻa*-writing his art ranks second only to his ode or lyric.

Specimens of his *qiṯʻa*.

Some specimens, which are very much akin to *rubāʻī*, are given below:

[4] زمانه پندی آزاده وار داد مرا زمانه را چو نکو بنگری همه پنداست
بروز نیک کساں گفت غم مخور زنهار بسا کسا که بروز تو آرزو منداست

وله

[5] بسرای سپنج مهماں را دل نهادن به ممسکی نه رواست

[1] Ibid., p. 111.
[2] Ibid., p. 113.
[3] Ibid., p. 108.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., p. 107.

زیر خاک اندر و نت باید خفت   گرچه اکنو نت خواب بر دیباست
با کساں بود نت چه سود کند   که بگور اندروں شدن تنہاست

ولہ

[1] روی به محراب نہادن چه سود   دل به بخارا و بتان طراز
ایزدِ ما و سوسهٔ عاشقی   از تو پذیرد نه پذیرد نماز

ولہ

[2] تا کَی گوئی که اهلِ گیتی   در هستی و نیستی لئیمند
چوں تو طمع از جہاں بریدی   دانی که همه جہاں کریمند

ولہ

[3] نگارینا شنیدستم که گاهِ محنت و راحت
سه پیراهن نشاں بوده است یوسف را بعمر اندر
یکے از کید شد پرّ خوں دوم شد چاک از تہمت
سیوم یعقوب را از بوی روشن کرد چشم تر
رخم ماند بداں اول دلم ماند بداں دویم
نصیبِ من شود در وصل آں پیراهنِ دیگر

His *maṣnawī*: its first instance in Persian poetry.

His position in *maṣnawī* may be estimated from his poem, the *Kalīlah-Damnah*, for which the king had rewarded him with 40,000 *dirhams*. Daulat Shāh states that Rūdakī's *qaṣīdah* and *maṣnawī* were the best among all his poetry:—

[1] Ibid., p. 111.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., p. 107.

قصاید و مثنوی را نیکو می گوید - استاد رودکی عظیم‌الشان و مقبولِ خاص و عام بوده -[1]

> He writes *qaṣīdah* and *maṣnawī* very well. Rūdakī, the master-poet, enjoyed high rank and was popular with all classes of people.

This is the first instance of *maṣnawī* to be met with in the history of Persian poetry.

The dates of his birth and death are not preserved.

Dates of his birth and death.

Taqī Auhadī, in his *'Arafāt*, mentions 253 A. H. as the date of birth, and 321 A. H. as the date of death. From this, it appears that Rūdakī lived to the age of 68 years. Shiblī, in his *Shi'r ul 'Ajam*, gives the date of death as 304 A. H., which cannot be correct; while Qazwīnī, in his *Bist Maqālah*, gives it as 329 A. H. None of them has mentioned the source of his information.

Opinion of contemporary and later poets about him.

Rūdakī has been acknowledged by all the leading poets of Persia, both during his time and after, as the *father of Persian poetry*. Some views of his contemporaries and of those who came immediately after him, during the 4th century A. H., may be cited here. Ma'rūfī of Balkh, a renowned poet of Rūdakī's time,

[1] Daulat Shāh, p. 19.

calls him *King of poets* :—

از رودکی شنیدم سلطانِ شاعران   کاندر جهان بکس مگر و جز بفاطمی

Shahīd Balkhī, another contemporary, thinks :—

بسخن ماند شعر شعرا رودکی را سخنش تلو ینا ست
شاعران راخه و احسنتَ مدیح   رودکی راخه و احسنت هجاست

Daqīqī, Firdausī's senior collaborator in the preparation of the great epic, the *Shāh Nāmah*, says :—

کرا رودکی گفته باشد مدیح   امام فنون و سخنور بود
دقیقی مدیح آورد نزدِ او   چو خر ما بسوے هجر بر بود

'Unsurī, the poet-laureate of the court of Sultān Mahmūd, eulogises Rūdakī's *ghazal*, declaring, at the same time, his own inferiority to him in this form of poetry :—

غزل رودکی وار نیکو بود   غزلهای من رودکی وار نیست
اگرچه بکوشم بباریک وهم   درین پرده اندر مرا بار نیست

It is related that a colleague of Nizāmī 'Arūzī Samarqandī (6th century A. H.) once happened to pass an adverse remark in the latter's presence on Rūdakī's style of ode. Nizāmī at once became furious and gave the critic the following sharp reply in *rubā'ī*, pointing out his ignorance of prosody and calling Rūdakī صاحبقرانِ شاعری ("the lord of the two ages in the art of versification") :—

ای آنکه طعن کردی در شعرِ رودکی
این طعن کردنِ تو از جهل و کودکی است

آنکس که شعر داند داند که در جهان
صاحبقران شاعری استاد رودکی است

Abū Shakūr's Maṣnawī, the Āfrīn Nāmah: an original composition, as distinct from Rūdakī's Kalīlah-Damnah, a translation.

Abū Shakūr Balkhī, a contemporary of Rūdakī, was a poet of rank. His poems are seldom found in the biographical works, but from a perusal of his life and writings it is known that he was the first who planned and wrote a complete *maṣnawī*, the *Āfrīn Nāmah*, in the Persian language. Daqīqī and Firdausī, who came after him, followed in his footsteps. 'Aufī gives 336 A. H., the year of the composition of this *maṣnawī*, but from the following couplet of Abū Shakūr himself it becomes clear that it was written in 333 A. H.:—

چنین داستان کس نگفت از خیال
ابر سه صد و سی و سه بود سال

Another *maṣnawī*, the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikha*, of Abul Muayyid.

Abul Muayyid's *maṣnawī*, the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā*, is another instance of an original composition in this period. Its style was followed by Khusrau and Jāmī, the most renowned poets in the Persian language.

Abul 'Abbās Zanjānī.

His full name is Abul 'Abbās Faẓl bin 'Abbās Zanjānī. He was a contemporary of Rūdakī and Abū Shakur, and was an undisputed master of technique. His poetry is majestic and sweet. The style of the *qaṣīdah* which he wrote on the occasion of the coronation of Nūḫ and the demise of Naṣr has been imitated by many a poet of repute. The following verses are worthy of notice:—

پادشاهے گذشت خوب نژاد　　پادشاهے نشست فرخ زاد
زاں گذشته زمانیاں غمگیں　　زیں نشسته جهانیاں دلشاد
بنگر اکنوں بچشمِ عقل و بگوی　　هر چه بر ما ز ایزد آمد داد
گر چراغے ز پیشِ ما برداشت　　باز شمعے بجای او بنهاد
ورزحل نحسِ خویش پیدا کرد　　مشتری نیز دادِ خویش بداد

The renowned poet Farrukhī, of the Ghaznavīd Court, later incorporated these verses in his elegy on the death of Sultān Maḥmūd. In this, he calls Abul 'Abbās with the proud title of '*master*':—

شمع داریم و شمع پیش نهیم　　گر بکشت آں چراغِ مارا باد
گر برفت آں ملک ز ما بگذاشت　　پادشاهے کریم پاک نژاد
سخت خوب آمد ایں دو بیت مرا　　که شنیدم ز شاعرے استاد
پادشاهے نشست فرخ زاد　　پادشاهے گذشت خوب نژاد
بر گذشته همه جهاں غمگیں　　بر نشسته همه جهاں دلشاد

The foundation stone of epic *maṣnavī* was laid by Daqīqī.

The general style of Daqīqī's poetry is different from that of Rūdakī. It is evident from 'Aufī's version that Rūdakī and Daqīqī were contemporaries, and both composed odes in praise of the Sāmānīd king, Naṣr bin Aḥmad. Daqīqī is the first Persian poet who laid the foundation of epic poetry in Persia. Firdausī, in his *Shāh Nāmah* pays a high tribute of praise to Daqīqī's poetry, which is a clear proof of his mastery over style. The significant lines are as follows :—

ستاینده شهریاران بدے
بمدح افسر نامداران بدے
چو از دفتر این داستانها بسے
همی خواند خواننده بر هر کسے
جهان دل نهاده برین داستان
همه بخردان و همه راستان
جوانے بیامد کشاده زبان
سخن گوی و خوش طبع و روشن روان
به نظم آرم این نامه را گفت من
از و شادمان شد دل انجمن

He took up the composition of the *Shāh Nāmah* at the request of his patron, Abul Faẓl Bal'amī. When he had finished 1,000 verses, he met with his tragic death at the hands of one of his slaves with

whom he was in love. Firdausi refers to this event thus :—

ز گشتاسپ و ارجاسپ بیتِ هزار بگفت و سر آمد ورا روزگار

Daqīqī stands on a high pedestal in Persian versification, and was an adept in every branch of poetry. As he was destined to set his hand to the "*Book of the Kings of Persia*," the greatest epic of the age, his thoughts had taken the same turn. He was the first rider to traverse this field. Firdausī, on Daqīqī's death, incorporated the latter's verses in the *Shāh Nāmah*, of which the following may be cited as a fair example :—

لشکر کشیدن گشتاسپ بر ارجاسپ و شکست خوردن ارجاسپ

بفرمود بردن ز پیش سپاه
درفش همایونش فرخنده شاه
سوے رزم ارجاسپ لشکر کشید
سپاهے کہ آنرا کرانہ ندید
زبس بانگِ اسپان و جوش و خروش
همی نالۀ کوس نشنید گوش
درفشان بسیار افراشته
سر نیزه ها زیر بگذاشته
چو رسته درخت از بر کوهسار
چو بیشہ نیستان بوقتِ بهار
ز تاریکیِ گرد و بانگِ سپاه
کسے روز روشن نمی دیده راه

بکردند یک تیر باران نخست
بسانِ تگرگِ بهاران درست

بپوشیده شد چشمهٔ آفتاب ز پیکانهای درخشان چو آب
تو گفتی هوا ابر دارد همی وزان ابر الماس بارد همی
هوا زین جهان بود شبگون شده زمین سر بسر پاک در خون شده
یکے بارهٔ بر نشسته چو پیل به تن همچو آهن به تگ همچو نیل
چو بینائیِ دیده بے رنج راه رسیدے بهر جا که کر دے نگاه
در و دشتها شد همه لاله گون بدشت و بیابان همی ریخت خون
چنان شد ز بس کشته آن رزمگاه که بروے ندانست رفتن سپاه
ز توران بکشتند چندان سپاه کجا رحمت آورد گستاسپ شاه
چو آگاه شد قیصر آن شاهِ روم که فرخ شد آن شاه و ارجاسپ شوم
فرسته فرستاد با خواسته غلامان و اسپانِ آراسته

Comparison of Firdausī with Daqīqī.

Firdausī takes precedence over his contemporary in beauty of style and grandeur of conception, and his verses are generally more appropriate to his theme and create a greater impression. But in judging Daqīqī the fact should not be lost sight of that his verses had to pass through several hands, and underwent changes through the tender mercies of the scribes before they reached Firdausī. Some critics observe that the original verses had altogether been mutilated. Firdausī himself says:—

به نقل اندرون سست گشتش سخن ازو نَو شده روزگار کهن

In short, Daqīqī deserves the credit for originality, because he was the forerunner who paved the way for others to tread. The outlines of an epic poem laid down by him, such as the mode of describing events, laws of warfare, rules of etiquette to be observed by the warriors, the language employed by all ranks and the author's fidelity of expression were all followed in their entirety by Firdausī. Daqīqī was the first who thought of purging Persian epic of Arabic words. This spirit was subsequently imbibed by Firdausī and retained to the last. Daqīqī was lavish in the use of redundant letters, examples of which abound in Firdausī also.

It is evident from the verses cited above that the general tenor and vivacity of tone found in the poetry of Daqīqī resemble closely the qualities found in Firdausī. The distinguishing feature of Firdausī's *maṣnawī* is that both the hemistiches in the line balance equally and the force of narration is not broken; while in Daqīqī's verses the second hemistich is often less forceful than the first, and the force and continuity of description dwindle gradually. But this must be admitted that Daqīqī did not get as much time and opportunity to acquire force in his composition as did Firdausī. Some critics observe that Daqīqī, had he lived to finish the work, might have attained in the course of time the same degree of vigour and lucidity as did Firdausī.

Daqīqī as a qaṣīdah-writer.

Examples of *qaṣīdah* are also to be found in Daqīqī's poetry. They show that he had a masterly hand and possessed insight into this branch of poetry as well. The following verse of Firdausī, which refers to Daqīqī's *qaṣā'id* written in praise of the kings and nobles, reflects upon the eminence of Daqīqī as a *qaṣīdah*-writer :—

ستایندهٔ شهریاران بُدے   بمدح افسرِ نامداران بُدے

Some extracts from his *qaṣā'id* are cited below by way of specimen :—

ای ابرِ بهمنی نه بچشمِ من اندری
دم زن زمانکی و بر آسای کم گری
این روز و شب گریستنِ زار بهر چیست
نی چون منی غریب و غمِ عشق بر سری
دردا جدا بماندم و در غم ز عشقِ یار
من زین توانگرم که مهاد این توانگری
یاری گزیدم از همه خلق آن پری نژاد
زان شد ز پیشِ چشمِ من امروز چون پری
لشکر برفت و آن بتِ لشکر شکن برفت
هرگز مهاد کس که دهد دل به لشکری

وله

در مدح امیر ابو سعید محمد مظفر چغانی گوید

ای کرده چرخ تیغ ترا پاسبان ملک   وی کرده جود کفّ ترا پاسبان خویش

تقدیر گوشِ امرِ تو دارد ز آسماں   دینار قصدِ کفِ تو دارد ز کانِ خویش

وله

در مدحِ سلطان

ز دو چیز کردند مر مملکت را   یکے بر بتانی یکے زعفرانی
یکے زر بنامِ ملک بر نوشتہ   دگر ز آهنِ آب دادہ یمانی
کرا بویۂ وصلتِ ملک خیزد   یکے جنبشَ بایدش آسمانی
زبانے سخن گوی و طبعے کشادہ   دلے همش کینہ همش مہربانی
کہ ملکت شکاریست کو را نگیرد   عقابِ پرندہ نہ شیرِ ژیانی
دو چیز است کو را بہ بند اندر آرد   یکے تیغِ هندی دگر زرّ کانی
بشمشیر باید گرفتن مر او را   بدینار بستنش پَی آرتوانی
کرا بخت و شمشیر و دینار باشد   بهالا تنِ نیزہ پشتِ کیانی
خرد باید آنجا و جود و شجاعت   فلک مملکت کَی دهد رایگانی

He also composed *ghazals* which come next to those of Rūdakī in sweetness and music. Two samples are quoted below:—

His *ghazal* and *rubā'ī.*

غزل

کاشکے اندر جہاں شب نیستی   تا مرا هجرانِ آں لب نیستی
زخمِ عقرب نیستی بر جانِ من   گر ورا زلفِ معقرب نیستی
ور نبودے کو کبش در زیرِ لب   مونسم تا روز کو کب نیستی
ور مرکب نیستی از نیکوئی   جانم از عشقش مرکب نیستی
ور مرابے یار باید زیستن   زندگانی کاش یا رب نیستی

وله

در افکند ای صنم ابر بهشتی   زمین را خلعتِ اُردی بهشتی
زمین برسانِ خون آلوده دیبا   هوا برسانِ مشک اندوده دشتی
بدان ماند که گوئی از می و مشک   مثالِ دوست بر صحرا نوشتی
تبِ رخسارِ او همرنگِ یاقوت   میٔ بر گونهٔ جامه کنشتی
جهان طاؤس گو نه گشت گوئی   بجائے نرمی و جائے درشتی
ز گلِ بوئے گلاب آید بد انسان   که پنداری گُل اندر گلِ سرشتی
دقیقی چار خصلت بر گزید است   به گیتی از همه خوبی و زشتی
لبِ یاقوت رنگ و نالهٔ چنگ   میٔ خون رنگ و کیشِ زر دهشتی

At this period, Persian poetry in all its spheres had advanced its steps beyond the preliminary bounds of its activity, and was quickly traversing the various stages to reach the high road to perfection. Poets who now indulged in this art spent their energies principally on writing *qaṣā'id*, prefacing them with love verses. This portion was the *ghazal* of that period.

Daqīqī is the author of a complete *dīwān*, as is evident from his biography. His quatrains (*rubā'īs*) were incorporated in his *dīwān* just in the same way as were his *qasīdah* and *ghazal*. But it is to be regretted that his quatrains are no longer extant. Only one, which is preserved in the early records, is cited below to serve as an instance:

رباعی

گویند صبر کن که ترا صبر بر دهد   آرے دهد و لیک به عمرے دگر دهد

من عمرِ خویش را به صبوری گذاشتم   عمرے دگر بباید تا صبر بر دهد

He also wrote *qiṯʿāt* of which some are reproduced as follows :—

قطعه

چرخِ گرداں نهاده دارد گوش   تا ملک مرو را چه فرماید

زحل از هیبتش نمی داند   که فلک را چگونه پیماید

وله

من اینجا دیر ماندم خوار گشتم   عزیز از ماندنِ دایم شود خوار

چو آب اندر شمر بسیار ماند   عفونت گیرد از آرامِ بسیار

وله

نگه کن آب و یخ در آبگینه   فروزاں هرسه همچوں روز روشن

گدا زیده دو تا یک نافسرده   بیک لون این سه گوهر بین ملون

وله

بزیرِ دیبهٔ سبز اندر آنک   ترنجِ سبز و زرداز بار بنگر

یکے چوں حقهٔ زر از حقیقت   یکے چوں بیضهٔ بینی ز عنبر

We arrive at the following conclusion from the surviving poems of Daqīqī and his contemporaries with regard to the general trend of Persian composition in this age:—

Characteristic features of Persian composition of this period.

(*i*) There are few conceits or verbal impedi-

ments in their composition.

(*ii*) The thoughts expressed are free from the taint of artificiality, pervaded as they are with natural and true emotions. The versification of subjects and themes is simple and lucid, and no attempt at intricacies of diction is noticeable.

(*iii*) Uncommon words and constructions are not frequently used, so that there is no abstruseness or ambiguity in meaning to mar the understanding of the real idea.

(*iv*) The technical means of poetry do not go beyond a certain limit; and because of this, the description of events produces a wholesome effect on the reader. Also, the true picture of a real event does not become overlaid or hidden, as in later poets, under the intricacies of word and meaning.

(*v*) The composition was to a great extent free from far-fetched similes and metaphors and other ornamental forms of speech. Whenever a figurative diction is used, it is always within the bounds of reason and governed by the laws of rhetoric. Hence it is not repugnant to good taste.

(*vi*) The subtle idioms and technicalities of philosophy, astronomy and other sciences, which are so frequently found in the works of *Badr Chāch*, *Anwarī*, *Khāqānī* and *'Urfī*

are rarely used by the poets of this period.

(*vii*) The metres of the poems are mostly of native and ancient origin. The Arabic metres used are confined to *qaṣīdah* only. Those of *rubā'ī* and *qiṭ'a* are Persian. *Ghazals* are written in Persianised metres to suit the Persian taste and requirements.

(*viii*) The use of pure Arabic forms of speech is rare; while the admixture of Arabic words is more frequent.

(*ix*) The poets who wrote in Persian are not, in their style of poetry, which was founded on patriotic lines in Persia, the pupils of Arabia; rather the 'Arab poets themselves exhibit tendencies of succumbing to Persian forms of speech, and forgetting their own national pride freely indulge in singing praises of the Amīrs and nobles, as was done by the Persian poets who lived during the first and second centuries of the Hijrah. Some notable examples of this new feature are to be found in the poetry of Mutanabbī, Abū Tammām and Abū Dulāmah.

(*x*) Regular instruction in moral philosophy and ethics is given through verse.

(*xi*) Of the various forms of poetry, *qaṣīdah*, *qiṭ'ā* and *ghazal* are more commonly adopted.

(*xii*) The use of redundant letters, with a view to conforming to the metre, becomes a common practice. For example, H̱inẕalah, Fīrūz Mashrīqī, Rūdakī and Daqīqī are in the habit of affixing and suffixing ا to their words as in ابر , جانا , مهمانا , نگارینا , and sometimes و , as in چوناں , which is written as چناں .

In short, a most important change that came over Persian poetry, towards the close of the 4th century A. H., was that it did not remain confined to the singing of panegyrics, but was progressing steadily as a distinct art in the field of literature. Also, a good deal of useful matter concerning historical affairs was being poured into it. The poets and men of letters, in addition to translating books from foreign languages, were now devoting their attention to writing useful treatises in Persian prose. Thus the translation of the Sanskrit story of the *Kalīlah-Damnah* from the Arabic version of Ibn ul Muqaffa‘ into Persian verse, and of the Arabic history of Ṯabarī into Persian prose, the compilation of a Persian lexicon by Asadī Ṯūsī, the writing of the *Kitāb ul Abniyah*, a treatise on Greek medicine by Abū Manṣūr Hiravī, and the composition of the *Naushīrwān Nāmah* by Badāyi‘ī Balkhī are some of the most notable monuments of this age in literature, history, medicine and ethics.

Another useful purpose served by Persian poetry in this period was that when all other agencies failed to give effect to certain important administrative measures, the help of poetry was successfully sought at delicate moments of crises. For example, a reference may be made to the instantaneous change wrought by Rūdakī's ode in the attitude of king Naṣr bin Aḥmad of the Sāmānīd dynasty, who was leisurely enjoying himself in the gardens of Herāt, but was stirred to depart at once for Bukhārā. The poem, though a very plain one, had made Naṣr fall into an ecstasy and longing for home and get rid of his obstinate obsession.

It has already been pointed out that people in this age liked a simple style, and a natural and spontaneous flow of thought was greatly appreciated. The constant use of figurative language with scientific technicalities, remote similes and artificial rhythmic expressions was generally not found in the works of poets. Hence the verses of Rūdakī possessed a charm and sweetness which naturally affected the heart of the king.

Another important feature which marks the poetry of this epoch is that the Persians, once more, set their hearts on guarding their national language against the inroad of foreign elements, specially Arabic. The versification of the history of Persian kings, the *Shāh Nāmah*, Persia's greatest book, was due only to this national awakening, and Daqīqī

was to take the lead. This is the first example in Muslim Persia, after the Sāsānian regime, that such a marked historical service was rendered by poetry. There is yet one other literary phase. It is that the poets, besides writing an epic, or a love story, or depicting some natural scene of a mountain or river-side or a garden in the Spring, paid special attention to versifying the common events of daily life and teaching moral lessons to humanity. Some instances are quoted below.

Shahīd Balkhī persuades people to make haste in doing benevolent deeds thus:—

عیب باشد بکارِ نیک درنگ   گر شتاب آمدے رفیق ملام
عاقبت را هم از نخستیں بیں   تا به غفلت گلو نگیرد دام

Hakīm Qatrān of Tabrīz points out in the following verse how to benefit oneself with one's own property, and at the same time to benefit others:—

نیکبخت آنکسے که داد و بخورد   شور بخت آنکه او نخورد و نداد

This very idea was echoed by the great Sa'dī of Shirāz *three* hundred years later in the following words which are closely similar to those of his predecessor:—

نیکبخت آنکه خورد و کشت و بد بخت آنکه مرد و هشت

Another moral lesson is taught to the world at large by Rūdakī thus:—

تاکی گوئی که اهلِ دنیا — در هستی و نیستی لیئمند
چون تو طمع از جهان بُریدی — دانی که همه جهان کریمند

The great teaching of the Qur'ān that Man should remain happy and contented with whatever boon God bestows upon or takes away from him[1] is recounted by Qaṯrān thus:—

ز آمده شادمان نباید بود — وز گذشته نکرد باید یاد

Another lesson of the Qur'ān to regard one's life in this world and its riches as insignificant[2] is expounded and conveyed as follows:—

زندگانی چه کوته و چه دراز — نه به آخر بمُرد باید باز
خواهی اندر عنا و محنت زی — خواهی اندر نشاط و نعمت و ناز
خواهی اندک تر از جهان بپذیر — خواهی از رے بگیر تا به حجاز

[1] Cf:— مَا أَصَابَ مِنْ مُصِيبَةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ إِلَّا فِي كِتَابٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ نَبْرَأَهَا إِنَّ ذٰلِكَ عَلَى اللّٰهِ يَسِيرٌ لِكَيْلَا تَأْسَوْا عَلَىٰ مَا فَاتَكُمْ وَلَا تَفْرَحُوا بِمَا آتَاكُمْ الخ

(Chapter 27. Rk. 19)

[2] Cf:— اِعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا الْحَيٰوةُ الدُّنْيَا لَعِبٌ وَلَهْوٌ وَزِينَةٌ وَتَفَاخُرٌ بَيْنَكُمْ وَتَكَاثُرٌ فِي الْأَمْوَالِ وَالْأَوْلَادِ الخ

(Ibid.)

این همه بود و بادِ تو خوابست   خواب را حکم نی مگر به مجاز
این همه روزِ مرگ اگر بینی   نشناشی ز یکدگر شان باز

Again, in the following verse he, in an appealing manner, condemns outward piety which, later, became the chief topic of H̱āfiẕ's poetry. In fact, the whole of H̱āfiẕ's *dīwān* may be said to be an interpretation of this single verse:—

روی به محراب نهادن چه سود   دل به بُخارا و بُتانِ طراز

Abū Shakūr Balkhī comments on the universal bit of wisdom that "a bad seed germinates a bad fruit" thus:—

درختی که تلخش بود گوهرا   اگر چرب و شیرین دهی مر ورا
همان میوهٔ تلخ آرد پدید   ازو چرب و شیرین نخواهی چشید

• This subject was taken up later by almost all the leading poets of Persia, and presented in verse in various ways. For example, Firdausī's rendering, which is nothing but a copy of Abū Shakūr in letter and meaning, is as follows:—

درختی که تلخ است ویرا سرشت   گرش بر نشانی بباغ بهشت
سر انجام گوهر بکار آورد   همان میوهٔ تلخ بار آورد

Such teachings of moral philosophy and universal truth are commonly met with in the works of poets of this age. Shahīd Balkhī propounds the philosophy

of non-association of wealth with learning by comparing the latter with narcissus and the former with rose thus:—

دانش و خواسته است نرگس و گُل   که بیک جای نشگفند بهم
هر کرا دانش است خواسته نیست   هر کرا خواسته است دانش کم

Abū Shakūr puts in verse the utterance of Socrates: "after so much learning and research I came to know that I know nothing":—

تابد انجا رسیده دانشِ من   که بدانم همی که نا دانم

Thus the subtleties of poetry were just beginning to grow side by side with the exposition of these philosophical thoughts. The scope of poetry was also widening, and poets were out to explore untrodden fields. Creative imagination was stirred to its keenest activity as the poets searched for all possible means of raising their art to a higher level.

Whatever has so far been said is but the gateway to the main structure of Persian poetry which was in the process of building outside Hindūstān. But the real theme, the advent and growth of Persian proper, specially poetry, in India, as compared with Persia, commences from the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.

CHAPTER III

THE GHAZNAVĪDS

Section 1:—The period of Maḫmūd—the greatest patron of Arts and Sciences in the Muslim world

His literary patronage: his invitation to Avicenna and Abū Raiḫān al Bīrūnī to come to his court.

Maḫmūd was the greatest patron of learning and of Persian Arts and Sciences in the Muslim world. He had founded a Royal Academy and a Museum at Ghaznī, the seat of the capital of his Persian Empire. Prominent men of letters, poets and philosophers were constantly in attendance on him. The two most eminent scholars invited by him to come to his court were Avicenna and Abū Raiḫān al Bīrūnī. For some reasons the former could not attend, but the latter responded and produced under Maḫmūd's liberal patronage such scientific and literary works as are still to be seen with an eye of wonder.

His works are all either in Sanskrit or Arabic, the consideration of which is beyond the scope of this book.[1] But since he ranks high in his knowledge

[1] It may be noted that he had selected Arabic and Sanskrit

and grasp of Persian language and literature, and also finds an honoured place in Indian history, having left many valuable works concerning the people of Hindūstān; and also because some 'Arab historians have declared Sindh to be his birth-place, it seems expedient to enter into some discussion here of his person and activities which would determine his identity and connection with India.

Al-Bīrūnī's home: whether Sindh or Khwārazm?

His full name was Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī. There are various conflicting statements in the early records about his birth-place of which a short summary together with necessary comment is given below.

The 'Arab historian, 'Abdul Karīm bin Muḥammad 'as Sam'ānī mentions the suburbs of Khwārazm as al-Bīrūnī's home, and observes that as the latter resided outside the boundaries of Khwārazm proper,

as the media of his writings on astronomy, Hindū sciences and other mathematical and geometrical subjects. He also translated many scientific works from Arabic and Greek languages into Sanskrit e.g. Greek almanac, Euclid, Principles of astrolabe etc. His reason for adopting Arabic medium in preference to his mother tongue, Persian, in the translation of foreign books, was that Arabic, in his opinion, was more flexible and extensive than Persian for the translation of the technical terms of Arts and Sciences. In fact, Arabic was the recognised literary medium of the Muslims all over the world in those days; whereas Persian did not have this status.

the residents called him *Bīrūnī*, an outsider.[1] This anecdote was subsequently quoted by Yāqūt Ḫamvī who, having heard it from a learned associate, tells us with the comment that al-Bīrūnī's stay in Khwārazm proper was very brief, as brief as that of a traveller, and the inhabitants of Khwārazm called a traveller by that name.[2]

The word *Bīrūn*, as it is transcribed in the works of Ibn Ḫauqal, the famous 'Arab geographer, and 'Alī bin Ḫāmid Abū Bakr Kūfī, author of the *Chach Nāmah*, is not clearly decipherable, because of the first letter being undotted. Hence it may be read either as *Bīrūn* or *Nīrūn*. The English historian, Sir Charles Elliot, however, has read it as *Nīrūn*[3], a view which has since found support in some quarters. The reasons for this view are, *prima facie*, based on the fol-

[1] Cf. the statement: هذهالنسبة الی خارج خوارزم فان بها من یکون من خارج‌البلد ولا یکون من نفسها یقال له " فلان بیرونی" یقال " فلان بیرونی ست" و یقال بلغتهم " آن بیرونی ست " و المشهور بهذهالنسبة ابی ریحان‌المنجم بیرونی –

(Kitāb ul Ansāb, Gibb. Mem. Series, p. 98 b)

[2] Cf. Yāqūt: سألت بعض‌الفضلاء عن ذالک فزعم ان مقامه بخوارزم کان قلیلا و اهل خوارزم یسمون‌الغریب بهذ الا سم کا نه لما طالت غربته عنهم کان غریبا و ما اظنه یرادبه الا انه من اهل‌الرستاق یعنی انه من برالبلد –

(Irshād ul Arīb, Gibb. Mem. Series, p. 308)

[3] History of India, vol. I, pp. 396-401.

lowing data:

(*i*) There is no city of the denomination of *Bīrūn* in modern Sindh; while there is a trace of an uninhabited place named *Nīrūn*.

(*ii*) Abū Raiḫān, according to Sam'ānī, was the inhabitant of Khwārazm, and was known as *Bīrūnī* in the terminology of its people.

To deny the existence of *Bīrūn* on the ground that there is no trace of any such town in modern Sindh is perhaps going too far, unless it be established that there was never a place of that name at any time in the history of that Province. A good many ancient towns of Sindh, like *Alūrā*, *Ṯāfin*, *Ḫamūs* and *Qalūrī*, whose existence is vouchsafed by early 'Arab travellers, have long ceased to exist. Bīrūn also is one such instance. Several 'Arab writers have mentioned that there existed a city of the name of *Bīrūn* in Sindh. Also, there is al-Bīrūnī's own evidence, which is irrefutable and is a conclusive proof against the modern conception. The 'Arab historian, Balāẕurī, who lived in the third century A. H., almost three centuries earlier than Sam'ānī, has written in detail about the city of *Bīrūn*, and has authoritatively stated that when Muḫammad bin Qāsim led his attack on India in the beginning of 93 A. H., he invaded Sindh,

and entered the city of *Bīrūn*[1], after conquering the fort of Dībul at the mouth of the Indus. The inhabitants, having sent two Buddhist plenipotentiaries to Hajjāj, concluded a treaty with the Caliph, and took Muhammad bin Qāsim inside the city, and paid him the amount of the annual subsidy according to the terms of the treaty. Again, Ibn Usayba' in his *Tārīkh ul-Atibbā*, Shahrzūrī in his *Nuzhat ul Arwāh* and the famous 'Arab geographer Abul Fidā have mentioned *Bīrūn* as a city of Sindh, and have stated that some people attributed it to al-Bīrūnī. Also, the author of the *Taqwīm ul Buldān*, al-mu'ayyid Ismā'īl bin 'Alī al-Ayyūbī, has cited *Bīrūn* as an old city of Sindh with its location between Dībul and Mansūrah. In support of his statement he has quoted al-Mahallabī, al-Idrīsī and Ibn Sa'īd, stating that *Bīrūn* was not a big city and was inhabited by the Muslims, and had a strong fort at the entrance, and was commonly attributed to al-Bīrūnī.[2] The

[1] Cf. the statement:—
قالوا واتى محمد بن القاسم البيرونَ و كان اهلها بعثوا ثمنيين منهم الى الحجاج فصالحوه فا قاموا لمحمد العلوفة و ادخلوه مدينتهم و و فوا بالصلح –
(Chap. I, Futūh us Sind, p. 437)

[2] Cf. the statement:
و البيرون اسم مدينة من الديبل و من المنصورة على نحو نصف الطريق و ربما قيل هى الى المنصورة اقرب و قال المهلبى البيرون مدينة اهلها مسلمون و منها الى المنصورة خمسة عشرة فرسخا و قال ابن سعيد مدينة البيرون التى

French scholar, Reinaud, whose investigations into the life and works of Abū Raiḫān are of special interest, because he was the first to introduce the name of this scientist in Europe by publishing a few chapters of his famous work, *Kitāb ul-Hind*, entertained no doubt as to the existence of Bīrūn, a view which, subsequently, was not credited by Elliot. The latter has, perhaps, missed the evidence of al-Bīrūnī himself, which is a great factor in determining the truth. Al-Bīrūnī in his *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī*, has expressly mentioned *Bīrūn* as a city of Sindh, and has given its longitude and latitude as follows[1]:—

long.	..	..	94-30′
lat.	..	..	24-45′

which, according to the modern calculation comes to

long.	..	..	69-0′
lat.	..	..	25-0′ respectively.

The historian Ismā'īl bin 'Alī al-Ayyūbī has referred to this calculation of al-Bīrūnī, and has taken

ينسب اليها ابو ريحان البيرونى و هى من فرض بلاد السند التى عليها خليجهم
المالح الخارج من بحر فارس و قال الادريسى من البيرون الى المنصورة ثلاث
مراحل و بعض مرحلة و هى مدينة ليست بالكبيرة و عليها حصن حصين –

(Taqwīm ul Buldān, p. 147, Shiblī Academy, A'ẕamgarh).

[1] Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī, chap. V, Mss., foll. 217-219, Imperial Library, Rāmpūr State.

special care to transcribe the name of this city by expressing each letter in words, a custom followed by the ʻArab lexicographers and other cautious writers, which admits of no mistake or doubt whatever in the spelling of any name.[1]

In the face of these positive proofs, the existence of *Bīrūn* as a city in Sindh cannot be denied. Nevertheless, its claim to be the home of al-Bīrūnī is disproved by his own statement. He says that he came to India as a stranger, and in the beginning of his stay here became a pupil of the *Pandits* for the study of Sanskrit. What is most striking in his account is that he acquired in a short time complete mastery of Sanskrit, and even excelled his teachers, so that the most eminent *Pandits*, with whom he held discussions, wondered how a stranger and a new-comer could attain such a height of perfection in their sciences, specially astronomy and Hindū lore. Abū Raiḥān further says that their *savants* had begun to suspect him as a sorcerer, and believed that it was through his sorcery that the secrets of their religion, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy were revealed

[1] Cf.—

بيرون – بكسر الباء الموحده و سكون اليا آخر الحروف و ضم الراء المهمله
و بعدها واو و فى آخرها نون –

(Taqwīm, p. 146).

Note:—This statement is made by the author on the authority of Qānūn ul Masʻūdī.

to him.[1] The second proof of his not being a native of Sindh is that in the Preface to his book, *'Ilm ul Adviyyah*, he writes that he passed his childhood in Khwārazm, where he used to learn the Greek language from a learned Greek scholar and used to enquire from him the Greek names of herbs and plants.[2]

In short, the contention that Abū Raiḫān was born at *Bīrūn* in Sindh cannot be upheld. But it is a fact that he was closely connected with India and its culture. Although he was proficient in Mathematics and Astronomy, yet the 'Arab historian, Yāqūt, has classed him with the literary men of the time. It appears that he was a poet as well, and his relations with Maḫmūd were cordial. Yāqūt has quoted an Arabic *qaṣīdah* of Abū Raiḫān in praise of Maḫmūd, in which he admitted, with characteristic frankness, the bounties of the Sulṯān and his unequalled patronage of letters.

It is clear from the life of Abū Raiḫān that he completed his studies of Arabic in Khwārazm, where he had ample opportunities for it. He was gifted with a retentive memory, quick wit and intelligence from his very childhood, and soon got admittance into the court of Sulṯān Abul 'Abbās Māmūn Khwārazmshāh who appointed him his مشیر (counsellor[3]).

[1] Al-Bīrūnī's India, Sachau, chap. I.

[2] F. Krenkow, "Al-Bīrūnī", The Islāmic Culture, Ḫyderābād, 1933.

[3] Baihaqī, Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, Mss., fol. 121 a, Āsī Press

This position he held for seven years. Subsequently, he became attached to the court of Sulṯān Maẖmūd, where he was sent on an embassy by Khwārazmshāh.[1] Maẖmūd patronized Abū Raiẖān and made him his chief courtier. This gave him a good chance to do full justice to his natural inclinations for acquiring knowledge of Indian arts and sciences. He, therefore, applied himself to this task with zeal and promptitude until Maẖmūd's death. In the journeys which Abū Raiẖān undertook in quest of knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindū learning, he had to bear untold sufferings and hardships. The *Pandits* treated him with disdain and looked down upon him as an "untouchable", but he tolerated all this, and by his perseverance and devotion learnt their sacred sciences, and translated Sanskrit books into Arabic, and Arabic and Greek books into Sanskrit.

Now the question arises as to what his mother tongue was. His own reply to this appears in the

library, Lucknow.

[1] Cf. the statement:—

و البیرونی حکیم را که از خرد سالکی فضلای آں دیار اورا دانستندے
و بر علم و دانش او تحسین گفتندے برسم حضوری بدرگاه ابوالعباس مامون
خوارزمشاه آوردند و ستودند - امیر حاجب که روزگارش مساعد بود اشارت
به نشستن کرد و بفرمان شاهی مهم سفارت سلطان محمود را با و تفویض
نمود و فوق تر از و ندیدند -

(Taẕkira i Salāṯīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 79)

Preface of his book *'Ilm ul Adviyyah* in the form of a puzzle. He says that his mother tongue is a language which was never made a medium of script in literary works. He further mentions that neither Arabic nor Persian is his mother tongue.[1] Persian was the literary and spoken language of the high class people of Khwārazm proper, but the common colloquial language of the district was a local dialect, *Khwārazmī.*[2] Also, in the outskirts of Khwārazm, mixed rural dialects were current which were unfit to be used in literary works.

Abū Raiẖān, as in Arabic, holds a prominent place in Persian literature as well, because he was a

[1] Cf. the statement:—

و ان كانت كل امة تتحلى لغتها التى الفتها... ثم منتقلة الى العربية و الفارسية فى كل واحدة دخيل و لها متكلف –

(F. Krenkow, "Al-Bīrūnī", Islamic Culture, 1933).

[2] Cf.—

امیر ابوالعباس مامون یعقوب کندی را برفع مظنهٔ فاسد که از قضیهٔ نا مرضیهٔ خانیان ترکستان سرکشیده بود نزد وزیر سلطان محمود فرستاد – او متمردانه در غزنین مانده لا فهامی زد و از اعیان و سران کسے نزدیک او نیامد و معتبر نداشت – بالآخر دلتنگ شده سطرے چند در شکایتِ اهلِ غزنه بخط و لغت خوارزمی که برسرِ آن کسے مطلع نشود نگاشته خریطهٔ بدستِ حاجبِ خُرد میر زا حمید بخاری بخوارزم بطرف امیر فرستاد –

(Taẕkira i Salāṯīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 87).

citizen of Khwārazm, and hence a Persian by blood. He was also closely associated with the elite of Persia, and learnt Arabic in Khwārazm under eminent local teachers of Arabic language and literature through the Persian medium.

The officers and soldiers of Mahmūd's army were the first to bring and introduce the Persian language into India in a stable form, but the admixture of Persian and Hindī began from the time of Abū Raihān. As a matter of fact, he could not avoid using the words of the current Prākrits and of the language of the *Pandits* and the high class Brahmans, with whom he came in contact in his daily intercourse. They too, in their turn, used the words of Abū Raihān's language in their address to him. The result was that the words of Sanskrit and Persian vocabularies became thus, consciously or unconsciously, intermingled with each other.

His most famous works: the *al-Hind*; the *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah*; and the *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī*.

The *al-Hind*, the *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah* and the *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī* are among his best known works. The first is directly concerned with India. In this, the sciences of the Hindūs, their religion, philosophy, astronomy and beliefs have been described in detail. It is, thus, a complete history of the culture of the Hindūs. It has also been translated into German and English, with a Preface by a German orientalist, Edward Sachau.

The *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah* is a comprehensive history of the nations of the world in ancient times. It contains a history of the calendar; the causation of Day and Night; the renewal of the world after the great Deluge; an account of the deluge; the mission of the Reformers and the Claimants to the Prophethood and their disciples; an account of Zul-Qarnain and Zoroaster; the laws of the Jews, the Magis, the Egyptians, the 'Arabs and the Persians and their festivals, together with the author's comment on their religious observances and rituals. Like the *al-Hind*, this book also was translated into German and English, and published with a Preface by Sachau.

The *Qanūn ul Mas'ūdī*[1] is a most valuable work on astronomy. It is a mirror of the achievement of the Muslim world in science and shows their sturdy

[1] Some attempts were made at 'Alīgarh in 1915-16 by the late Nawāb Muhammad Ishāq Khān, Honorary Secretary, Muhammadan-Anglo-Oriental College, to form an Academy to edit and publish this work under the liberal patronage of the Nizām's government, but it fell through for want of suitable men to handle the task. To understand and edit the chapters of this great work, it is necessary to find scholars who may have completed their study of advanced Mathematics and astronomy originally in Arabic. An Academy was founded in Italy under the patronage of Leone Caetani, a great lover of Islāmic studies, which, besides other literary activities in its programme, also undertook the responsibility for editing and publishing this work. It is to be hoped that through the enthusiasm of European orientalists this gigantic task will soon be completed.

refined taste for scientific subjects. In this book Abū Raiḥān has recorded many a theoretical observation and his experiment relating to the position of the stars and their distance from the Earth, together with the phenomena which he noticed in the Solar regions by means of his apparatuses from the *Observatory* at Ghaznī in 410 A. H. and subsequent dates.

His other works.

Abū Raiḥān has given a list of his works, which are more than a hundred in number, in a small pamphlet which he wrote for one of his friends. This pamphlet is preserved in the library of Leyden, to which a reference has been made by Sachau in his Preface to the *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah*. The list is by no means complete since there are other sundry works mentioned by historians.

After Maḥmūd's death, Abū Raiḥān remained in the service of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, and received royal patronage and favours from him. This, indeed, was a great encouragement to Abū Raiḥān for carrying on undisturbed his scientific researches to which he had already devoted himself. His open and full acknowledgment of Mas'ūd's liberal support is made in his Preface to the *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī*, his best work, for which reason it was dedicated to the Sulṭān and called after his name "*Mas'ūdī*."

His estimate of Mas'ūd's literary taste.

Abū Raiḫān states that Sulṯān Mas'ūd possessed a wider and more advanced literary taste than his father.[1] Mas'ūd had received the best scientific training, and had acquired competent knowledge of Arabic and ornate Persian prose. He was one of the most eloquent speakers of his time. Historians relate that when he talked to his courtiers in Persian, the most accomplished scholars in attendance were astonished to hear his eloquence.[2] His Persian speech was particularly sweet and his composition weighty and of a high order. None but he among the Ghaznavīd kings, says Sulaimān bin 'Abdul Ḫusain Sarakhshī, used to speak and write pure idiomatic Persian with fluency and ease.[3]

[1] Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī, Preface.
Also, cf. Yāqūt:—

وکان السلطان مسعود شجاعاً کریماً ذافضائل کثیرة محباً للعلماء کثیرالاحسان الیهم و التقرب لهم... صنفوا له التصانیف الکثیرة فی فنون العلوم وکان کثیرالصدقة والاحسان الی اهل الحاجة –

[2] Cf. Baihaqī:—

چوں ایں پادشاہ در سخن آمدے جهانیاں بایستے که در نظارہ بودندے که دُر پاشیدے و شکرشکستے –

(Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, p. 19).

[3] Cf.—

گویند از سلاطین عظام ایں سلسلهٔ عالیه مثل سلطان شهید (مسعود) انارالله برهانه کسے در پارسی سخن نظیف تر نه راندے –

(Taẕkira i Salāṯīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss. p. 39)

Persian being the court language of the Ghaznavīds, Abū Raiḫān must have carried on his conversations with the people in that language. Also, because by virtue of his office, he was to be in close touch with Maḫmūd and his son, he had frequent occasions of meeting and talking with them in his and their mother tongue: Persian. Further, he employed it in his conversations with the citizens of Ghaznī and the literate and business class Muslims of the Punjāb. Persian, in fact, was gaining popularity at the hands of Persian poets in the vast territory of Sulṯān Maḫmūd, which extended from the eastern part of the Punjāb to the furthest end of Afghānistān and Persia in the West. Abū Raiḫān's mastery of the Persian language and literature is evident from the fact that he was a Persian, even though he has not used Persian as a vehicle of thought in any of his literary works. In short, he holds a very prominent place among the world's writers. His works on scientific subjects are of unique value, and have no parallel in history. The historians, speaking of his insatiable thirst for reading and writing, state that his pen and his mind and eye were constantly at work, and they never ceased their activity throughout the year but for *two* days only, and that too to procure for himself the bare needs of living. Thus says Yāqūt:—

[1] و كان مكبّاً على تحصيل العلوم منصباً الى تصنيف الكتب يفتح ابوابها و يحيط شوا كلها و اقرا بها و لا يكاد يفارق يده القلم و عينه النظر و قلبه الفكر إلّا فى يومي النيروز و المهرجان من السنة لا عداد ما تمس اليه الحاجة فى المعاش من بلغة الطعام و علقة الرياش -

He is a most conspicuous figure among the elite of the Ghaznavīd court. Sultān Mahmūd had kept him with due honour, and raised him to the high rank of *chief counsellor*. He also took him from Khwārazm, after its conquest, to Ghaznī, and afforded him facilities for acquiring knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindū lore in India under royal patronage. Mahmūd was from the very beginning much impressed by Abū Raihān's vast learning, and treated him with great kindness and consideration, since he had been introduced to Mahmūd at Khwārazm with the following significant remark:—

[2] انه امام و قته فى علم النجوم و ان الملوک لا يستغنون عن مثله -

> He (Abū Raihān) is the *Imām* of his time in astronomy, and the kings cannot do without one like him.

Abū Raihān himself acknowledges Mahmūd's generosity in a *qasīdah* as follows:—

[1] Irshād ul Arīb fī Ma'rifat il Adīb, Gibb. Mem. Series, vol. VI, pp. 308-309.
[2] Ibid., p. 311.

[1] و لم ينقبض محمود عنى بنعمة   فا غنى و اقنى مغضيا عن مكا سها
عفا عن جها لاتى وا بدى تكرّماً   وطرى بجاهٍ رونقى و لبا سيا

He was born, according to Abū Is͟hāq Ibrāhīm al-Tabrīzī, at Khwārazm in 362 A. H.; and died, according to Yāqūt, at Ghaznī in 403 A. H., at the age of 41 years, which is, however, incorrect, as it is inconsistent with Abū Raihān's own statement preserved in a letter to one of his friends, stating that he was 65 years of age in 427 A. H.[2] This rightly gives 362 A. H., as the date of his birth. The mistake, therefore, lies in the date of his death given by Yāqūt, which cannot be earlier than 427 A. H. by any calculation.

Mahmūd's regime from territorial and literary point of view.

The reign of Sulṯān Maẖmūd must be viewed from two different angles, as a conqueror and as a patron of letters, when considering the introduction and growth of the Persian language in India. His conquest was more effective in introducing the peoples of Hindūstān to this new tongue, while his patronage gave it popularity and consequent growth in the more congenial and healthy atmosphere of the Indian soil. After his victories in the Punjāb, he had to deal with the nobility and the masses of the Hindū population in his administrative and private capaci-

[1] Taẕkira i Salāṯīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 71.
[2] Sachau, Aṣār ul Bāqiyah, Preface.

troops, lived for several years in the midst of the Persian army at Ghaznī, and fought numerous battles for the Sulṯān. Sobindrāi was so greatly trusted by the royal house that immediately after the death of Maḫmūd, his son, Muḫammad, sent the Hindū general to the city of *Bust* in the West to crush a rebellion against the State. He fought with great valour and died on the battle-field. Nāth, no less brave and loyal than his colleague, was sent by Mas'ūd against his enemy, Niyāltagīn, a Turk. This general also died a glorious death in the thick of a battle, after gaining a number of victories for Maḫmūd and his successors. Mas'ūd on hearing of Nāth's death, was so much grieved that he did not take food for three days, and appointed none other than a near relation of the deceased, named *Tūlak*, to succeed him in command.

Another military officer was *Harī Tēk* who rendered signal services to Maḫmūd in his territorial expansion and in quelling disturbances in the Punjāb. He was the chief artillery officer and was in command of a detachment of 10,000 horse and foot, consisting mostly of Rajpūts. He and his troops remained with Mahmūd's central army. After Mahmūd's death, Harī Tēk went away to Kashmīr, being displeased with Mas'ūd, but his son Maudūd, Mahmūd's grandson, tried to win him back to his court, and sent Abū'Alī Kotwāl, then governor of Lāhore, to Kashmīr, who effected a reconciliation and brought him

back to Lāhore with honour. On arrival, Maudūd held him in greater esteem and kept him near his person at Ghaznī.[1] All these facts indicate how the Persian language was making itself familiar to the people of Hindūstān and influencing their culture and taste.

Spread of Persian in Upper Hindūstān through Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī.

At this time, the famous saint and warrior, Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, a young bachelor and a prominent member of the Ghaznavīd dynasty, who had come to India from Ghaznī during the time of Maḥmūd, advanced with an army of Persian soldiers towards Qannauj, and having crossed the Ganges reached Oudh. He met with some resistance at Sirhind, Kūl, Mathrā and Āgrā, but overcame all, because of the adventurous spirit of his Persian followers and their missionary zeal to efface idol-worship and spread the kingdom of Allāh upon earth. The young Ghāzī's forces, which had greatly dwindled on their long and tedious journey, reached Bahrā'ich in an almost exhausted condition. A great battle was fought against a fresh and well-equipped combined army of the Rājās of Qannauj, Gōnda and Bahrā'ich, in which the saint lost his life after a fierce 17-hour struggle on Sunday and Monday of the first week of

[1] Farishtah, p. 46.

Jēth, which is the hottest month of the Hindū calendar year. The annual *'Urs* (death anniversary) is held in the first week of this month, commencing on Sunday, in commemoration of his martyrdom and "wedding," though this never took place in his lifetime, and he died a bachelor. His tomb is held in great veneration by the Muslims and the non-Muslims alike, and wedding processions come from the neighbouring towns like Rudaulī, Satrikh, Benāres and Jaunpūr. Thousands of people gather every year to witness the ceremony of the *Fātiḫa*, and to pray for the cure of their ailments by seeking the saint's benedictions. This is one of the biggest *'Urs* which is held in Northern India. People from all parts of the United Provinces and from Bihār and Bengal come to pay their homage to the bachelor saint, who lies buried in the *Dargāh*. The most striking feature is that many of them come all the way on foot, believing that by doing so they get the saint's blessings, which is the chief thing sought after for the fulfilment of their desires.

The cultural consequences of his journey from Lāhore to Bahrā'ich are noteworthy. It is to be seen that hundreds of his followers, who were the elite of Persia, had settled down after their general's death and the break-up of the army, in the districts of Oudh, where their descendants are still to be found. Their permanent settlement there played an important part in the introduction and spread of Persian civilization

and language in the interior of Oudh, and had a most salutary effect on the culture and literary taste of the people of this part of India. The followers of Sayyid Sālār were all Persian-speaking men who had dispersed and settled in the districts of Oudh. Because of this fact, Persian vocabulary and Persian manners found their way into the interior of the country as well. This is why the Hindū population of this Province shortly afterwards developed a taste for Persian language and literature, and within a century of the cessation of the Ghaznavīd rule began to speak and write in Persian.

The second result, which concerns itself with the growth and popularity of the Persian language in the country and the cultivation of a taste for it among the literate classes, is still more important. The chief factors responsible for this were Mahmūd's own refined taste for Persian poetry and his liberal patronage of men-of-letters. It is stated that no less than *four hundred* scholars and poets always accompanied him on his expeditions.[1] Hence it was impossible for the indigenous taste not to have been influenced by Persian thought. The presence of these Persian elite, coupled with Mahmūd's munificent rewards to poets, was creating a very favourable atmosphere for the Persian language to develop in India, and was earnestly attracting the people towards everything Persian.

[1] Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, fol. 67a. Also, see Daulatshāh, p. 24.

One can imagine the tremendous influence exercised by an Eastern monarch in those days. When Maḥmūd moved about with his vast army of Persian followers and *four hundred* scholars and poets in attendance, his influence must have been very great on the culture and the taste of the people of Hindūstān. The Ghaznavīd *darbār* was the only centre of Persian culture in the East. The poets born in Persia were attracted to Ghaznī and Lāhore, the Persian and the Indian seats of government. This means that the territory lying between the Persian towns and the Indian Capital was all under the sway of Persian culture. The most renowned poets and scholars crossed the Punjāb, and reached as far as Oudh under the banner of Maḥmūd and Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, and left their impress on the language and civilization of that place. Of the poets in Mahmūd's attendance, the following *seven* were most prominent:—

1. 'Unṣurī.	2. 'Asjadī.	3. Asadī.
4. Farrukhī.	5. Firdausī.	6. Mīnū-chehrī.
	7. Ghazā'irī.	

It is out of place to discuss here the respective merits of each of them and to show how these poets refined and enriched their composition in the more congenial surroundings of India. In other words, what beneficial effect did the Indian atmosphere produce on their poetry? Briefly speaking, the nice-ties of thought, gaiety of composition and the buoyant

mode of expression, with which their eulogistic and descriptive poetry abounds, would not have been possible but for the Indian atmosphere which had thoroughly affected them. Besides, their *qaṣā'id* are historically important, specially those written to describe the scenes of battles, expeditions and victories of Maḥmūd and his successors. Persia did not produce verses to compare with these. This is the peculiarity of Persian *qaṣā'id* written in India in this period. A few concrete instances to illustrate this point more fully are cited below:—

Farrukhī accompanied Maḥmūd in his expedition to Somnāth. He has versified the thrilling events of this historic march in a remarkable *qaṣīdah*, portraying the jungles of India, the dread of the snakes, the clearing up of the way, the victories gained and, what is most important, the track and toils of the journey, which no biographer of Mahmūd has considered his worth while to give. He also presents a faithful account of the tanks that were built to supply water for the rear guard of the army, the victories gained over the fortified towns in the way, the armies of idolators who filled the forts and the temples, the manner in which they worshipped their idol-gods and washed them every day with the holy rose water, milk and saffron, the storming and surrender of the city, Maḥmūd's generous disposition towards the vanquished, the high spirit of his personal staff and the army, and his return journey. Farrukhī,

by his graphic account, has rendered a valuable service to Persian poetry and has enhanced its prestige and worth. The original poem is a long one. Here, only a relevant portion is quoted:—

در ذکرِ سفرِ سومنات و قدحِ آں و شکستنِ منات و رجعتِ سلطان گوید[1]

فسانہ گشت و کہن شد حدیثِ اسکندر   سخن نو آر کہ نَورا حلا وتیست دگر
فسانۂ کہن و کارنامۂ بدروغ   بکار ناید رَو در دروغ رنج مبر

....

گماں کہ بُرد کہ ھرگز کسے زراہِ طراز   بہ سومنات برد لشکر و چنیں لشکر ؟

....

ھوای او دژم و بادِ او چو دو دِجحیم   زمینِ او سیہ و خاکِ او چو خاکستر
همہ درخت میانِ درخت خار کشن   نہ خَار بلکہ سنانِ خلندہ و خنجر
نہ مرد را سرِ آنَ کاندر و نہادے پای   نہ مرغ را دلِ آنَ کاندر و کشادے پَر

....

عجب تر آنکہ مَلک راھمی چنیں گفتند   کہ اندرین رہ مار دو سر بود بیمر
بشب چو خفتہ بود مرد سر بر آرد مار   همی کشد نفسِ خفتہ تا بر آید خور
چو خور بر آمد و گرمی بہ مردِ خفتہ رسید   سبک نگردد از آں خواب تا گہِ محشر
بدیں درشتی و زشتی رھے کہ کردم یاد   گذشت شاہ بتوفیقِ خالقِ اکبر
بساخت بہرِ ز پسماندگان و گم شدگان   میانِ بادیہ ھا حوضہای چوں کو ثر
بداں رہ اندر چندیں حصار و شہرِ بزرگ   خراَب کرد و بکند اصلِ ھر یک از بن و بر
نخست لُدَروہ کز روي برَج و بارۂ او   چو کوہ کوہ فرو ریختَ آھن و مرمر

....

چو چِکلُودار کہ صندوقہای گوھر یافت   بکوہ پایۂ او شہرِ یار شیر شکر

[1] Dīwān i Farrukhī, p. 68.

چو نَـهـلَوارَه که اندرِ دیار هند بهیم   به نَهلَوارَه همی کرد بر شهاں مفخر
چو مندهیر که در مندهیر حوضے بود   چنانکه خیره شدے اندر و دو چشم فکر
فراخ پهنا حوضے به صد هزار عمل   هزار بتکدهٔ خرد گردِ حوض اندر
دگر چو دیو لواره که همچو دیو سفید   پدید بود سر افراشته میانِ گذر
یکے حصارِ قوی بر کرانِ شهر و درو   ز بت پرستاں گِرد آمده یکے محشر
فریضه هر روز آں سنگ را بشستندے   به آبِ گنگ و به شیر و به زعفران و شکر

On Sulṯān's journey to Somnāth and its storming and breaking the idol Manāt and return

The discourse of Alexander has become old and a fiction, Bring in new speech, for a new thing has a new taste;
An old fiction and a false work
Serve no useful purpose, go and do not labour in falsehoods;
Who could think that any one ever by way of Tarāz,
Would lead an army towards Somnāth? And such a huge army!
Its climate is dirty, its air like the smoke of hell,
Its land black, and its dust like the burnt ashes;
It is all thick jungle, and its trees are full of thorns,
Not thorns, but piercing spears and daggers;
Neither man could dare put his step therein,
Nor has the bird courage to spread its wing;
The most wonderful thing is that the people had told the king

That in this path there are countless two-headed snakes;
These snakes come out at night when men are asleep,
And bite them to death till it is day-break;
When the sun appears and its heat reaches the sleeping man,
He does not rise from his slumber till doomsday;
Through this hard and evil path as above described,
The king passed safely by the grace of God, the Almighty;
His Majesty built for those who had lagged behind and gone astray,
Tanks like *kauṣar* in the midst of the jungles;
In that path there were many forts and big cities
Which he devastated and pulled them each from its foundation;
The first fort was that of Ludravah, from the turrets and walls of which,
They hurled mountains of stones and iron;

. . . .

Another was Mandhēr which had a tank inside,
It was so marvellous that the two eyes of perception were dazed with wonder;
It was a big tank built with a hundred thousand art,
And contained one thousand small temples within;

The other tank was Dēvalvārah which, like the white demon,
Was visible with its head aloft on our way;
A very strong fort was in front of the city, and in it
The huge crowds of idolators were collected;
As a sacred duty they washed this idol every day,
With the Ganges water, milk, saffron and sugar.

Farrukhī, as the result of his stay in India, has also made use of Hindī words in his Persian composition. An instance of it is to be found in the following verse in the word شل ;

[1]بگونهٔ شلِ افغانیاں دو پرّه و تیز   چو دسته دسته بهم تیر های چوں سو فار

Mīnūchehrī, a contemporary of his, who is a connecting link between Persian and Arabic poetry, was, perhaps, influenced by Indian society more than his comrade. He has used both Hindī words and sentiments in a *qasīdah* in which he says:

[2]الا تا مومناں دارند روزه   الا تا هندواں گیرند لنگهن

Another poet, Mukhtārī, who was a colleague of Hakīm Sanā'ī, had come away to India from Ghaznī in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavī, and settled

[1] Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 97a.
[2] A History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court, vol. I, p. 64.

in the Punjāb. He wrote numerous *qasā'id* during his stay at Lāhore and Multān in praise of the king, of which the following is the most famous:—

[1]مسلماناں دلے دارم کہ ضایع می شود جانش
در افتادم بداں دردے کہ پیدا نیست در مانش

The chief peculiarity of these *qasā'id* is that they were copied in style, metre and thought by such perfect masters of poetry as Khusrau, Anwarī, Khāqānī Salmān, 'Urfī and others,[2] but none could approach Mukhtārī in sweetness of expression and style.[3] After his arrival in India, he too could not save his literary works from the powerful influence of society and the influx of Hindī vocabulary. In a *qasīdah* writing about a slave, whom he had purchased in the market of Multān, he says:

[1] Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 108.

[2] Cf. Khusrau:— بسنگے چوں سگاں از دور خرسندم ز دربانش

Cf. Anwarī:— ببیں وقتِ سخن گفتن لبِ شیرین و دندانش

Cf. Khāqānī:— دلِ من پیر تعلیم است و من طفل زباندانش

Cf. Salmān:— دلِ عارف دُر معنی برد از بحر عرفانش

Cf. 'Urfī:— دلِ من باغبانِ عشق و حیرانی گلستانش

[3] Cf. the statement:—

و بسیارے از اکابر این قصیدہ را جواب گفتہ اند ھمانا بزیبائی این قصیدہ نگفتہ باشند —

(Daulatshāh, p. 94, ed. by Browne)

[1]زمن بدیدے بادے بجستہ گفتے "چوں"
مکس بدیدے بر من نشستہ گفتے "مار"

The opening line of this *qaṣīdah* is:—

یکے غلامکِ هندی خریدم از بازار   بداں بها که ز گفتارِ آنم آید عار

His name was 'Uṣmān which he had originally adopted as his *nom de guerre*, but subsequently changed it for Mukhtārī. He enjoyed the confidence and company of the Ghaznavid kings. His ideas and poetic fervour could be gauged from his *qaṣā'id*. The following, which is one of the best, has been imitated by almost all the leading poets of Persia:—

روزگارے خوشتر است از شکر و عنبر ترا
یاسمن در عنبر است و لاله در شکر ترا

He was a most independent but least cautious poet of the time. When he monopolised freedom in the domain of poetry, specially satire, he, at times, broke the bounds of even ordinary rules and conventions. The best example of it is to be found in the *qaṣīdah* describing the purchase of the slave, already referred to. In another *qaṣīdah* written in praise of an *amīr*, he begins with the desire of purchasing a slave, which indicates his originality and his peculiar taste for strife against conventionalism. He says:—

[1] Bayāẓ i Mīrzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, Mss. fol. 67a.

دی غلامے دیدم اندر راہ چوں مہر منیر
کز بروں گل بود و مشکؔ و از دروں می بود شیر
تن چو اندر آب شیر و رخ چو گل اندر چمن
لب چو لعل اندر نبات و بر چو سیم اندر حریر
پیکرے بس دلستان و قامتے بس دلربا
ناز کے بس دلفریب و شاهدے بس دلپذیر
دست و بازویش بلور و عارض و دنداں چو دُر
زلف و ابر و چوں کمان و غمز و بالایش چو تیر
من برو چشمے زدم چوناں که بے شرماں زنند
او ز شرم آتش پراگند از برِ بدرِ منیر
چوں بیامد گفتم ای کردہ دلم زیر و زبر
خار باد آں کت همی بیروں فرستد قیر قیر
چوں تو حورالعیں که دارد چشمہا پر آب کرد
گفت حورالعیں بدستِ دیو کَے باشد اسیر
خواجۂ دارم که گوش از نامِ او دارد نفور
طلعتے دارد کهَ چشم از دیدنش گر دیدہ خیر
او چنا نست از من و بے من جهانے در فغاں
او نفور است از من و بے من جهانے در نفیر
گفتم ای جانم فدائے روی چوں ماہِ تو باد
گر تو بفر و شد بجاں باشد روا جانِ حقیر
گفت رَو تدبیرِ زر کن جاں مدہ زیرا که هست
چوں ترا از جاں خداوند و مرا شد در گزیر
گرتِ باید آستیں از بهر من پُر زر کنی
دامن عَثمان عبداللّٰه اسمٰعیل گیر

The last verse containing گریز or "skip" towards the praise of his benefactor, 'Uṣmān 'Abdullāh bin Ismā'īl, is so pleasing to the ear that the listener cannot but be inclined to fulfil the desire of the writer of the *qaṣīdah*.

In one of his *qaṣā'id*, he has praised his riding-camel in much the same way as was done by the 'Arab poet, Mutanabbī, who, on a critical occasion, was carried by his animal safely through the midst of his enemies from Syria to Kūfāh. The chief feature of Mukhtārī's poem is that his similes and ideas, which are Persian, are modified by his Indian surroundings, since he had to traverse with the king's troops the mountainous region of the frontier and the forests of the Punjāb. He says:—

چو من به قوتِ اسلام و نصرتِ داور   ز بهرِ خدمت بستم کمر به عزمِ سفر
مدیح بود مرا رهبر و سخن مونس   امید بود مرا همسر و خرد یاور
بخواستم ز مجمز جمازهٔ آورد   یکی هیونِ نیِ صحرا نورد کهٔ پیکر
سپهر گردن و آگنده ران و پهن قفا   بلند قامت و بسیار موی و کوچک سر
بریده از د هنش خوشهای مروارید   دمیده از کتفش برگهای سوسن بر
چو باد پای به کوهان او در آوردم   ز جای برجست آن باد پای کوه سپهر
بسانِ ناقهٔ صالح بیک شب اندر کوه   هزار بار برون آمد از میانِ حجر
فلک بود متحیر ز شورش عالم   زمین بود متحرک ز جنبش لشکر
ز خاک تیره کنی رزمگاه را بالین   ز خون تازه کنی جنگجوی را بستر
در آفرینش بر ندہ بود خنجر تو   نه تربیت ز فسون یافت باز آهنگر
نعوذ بالله اگر نام او برد یاجوج   بریده گردد صد جای سدِّ اسکندر

A specimen of Mukhtārī's quatrain, which is on love, is cited below:—

خواهم صنما همه جهان دشمنِ من　　پیراهنِ تو یکے و پیراهنِ من
از بازوی من قِلادهٔ در گردنِ تو　　وز گیسوِ تو کمند در گردنِ من

Besides Farrukhī, many a Persian poet of fame, who came to India along with Mahmūd, also composed poems on the occasion of his victories. One such was 'Asjādī, who accompanied the Sultān to Somnāth, and presented a marvellous *qasīdah* of which only a few lines are extant:—

The coming of 'Asjadī to India, and his congratulatory poem on the victory of Somnāth.

تا شاهِ خسرواں سفرِ سومنات کرد　　کردار خویش را عَلَمِ معجزات کرد
آثارِ روشنِ ملکانِ گذشته را　　نزدیکِ بخرداں همه اَز مشکلات کرد
بزدود ز اهلِ کفر جهان را بر اهلِ دین　　شکر و دعای خویشتن از واجبات کرد
مقصود شهر یارِ کریم آنکه ملک را　　بنیاد بر محامد و بر مکرمات کرد
شطرنجِ مُلک باخت ملک با هزار شاه　　هر شاه را به لعبِ دگر شاه مات کرد
شاها تو از سکندر بیشی بداں جهت　　کو هر سفر که کرد بدیگر جهات کرد
عین الرضاء ایزد جوئی تو در سفر　　باز او سفر به جستنِ عین الحیاة کرد
تو کارها به نیزه و تیر و کماں کنی　　او کارها بحیله و کلک و دوات کرد
سر در فکندهٔ پیشت هر مهتری و ری　　چوناں که جیپل و بهرج و پال و جات کرد
مندهیر را گرفتی و می بایدت چنانک　　دیدیم نیزهٔ تو چه در سومنات کرد

The word دیدیم in the second line of the last verse clearly suggests his presence during the attack

on and conquest of Somnāth.

'Unsurī's presence in Indian campaigns as indicated by his poems.

'Unsurī, the poet laureate of the court of Sultān Mahmūd, also accompanied his master in several battles that were fought with Jaipāl and his allies. He has described in a remarkable *qasīdah* the storming of the fort of Peshāwar and the brilliant victories gained on the way in the historic march on Multān. Some lines are quoted below:—

شنیدۀ خبرِ شاهِ هندواں جیپال — که بر سپهر بلندش همی بسود افسر
بداں صفت سپهے چوں شبِ سیاه بزرگ — بدستِ ایشاں شمشیرهای همچو سحر
چود ودِ تیره درو آتشے زبانه زناں — تو گفتۀ که پراگنده شد بدشتِ سقر
خدائگانا خراساں بدشتِ پیشاور — به حملۀ بپراگند آں همه لشکر
حکایتِ سفر مولتاں همی دانی — و گر ندانی تاج‌الفتوح پیش آور
اگر ز دجله فریدوں گذشت بے کشتی — بشاهنامه بر آں بر حکایت است سمر
ازاں سپس که درو وهم را نبودے پای — وزاں سپس که براں باد را نبود عبر
به‌مولتاں شد و در ره‌دویست قلعه کشاد — که هر یکے را صد بند بود چوں خیبر
بلاد و بتکدۀ شاں کشاد و سوخت همه — ببرد باد همه تودهای خاکستر

Zīnatī's arrival in India, and his poems.

Similarly Zīnatī, who was among the chief counsellors of Sultān Mahmūd, has fulfilled his duty as a poet. When the Sultān, in one of his expeditions from Ghaznī, entered into Hindūstān, after suffering the hardships of the journey all along, Zīnatī at once wrote a *qasīdah* consoling the king against his troubles

and weariness thus:—

ای خداوند روزگار پناه   مطرباں را بخواں و بادہ بخواہ
تا بداں لعل می فرو شوئیم   کا مہا راز گرد و محنتِ راہ
پس جوانمرد وار برسازیم   مجلسے پُر نہنگ و شیر آگاہ
میسرہ مطربانِ خوش سازیم   میمنہ دوستانِ نیکو خواہ
غم گریزد ز پیشِ ما چونانک   خان و قیصر ز پیشِ شاهنشاہ
خسروِ خسرواں مَلِک محمود   ملت و ملک را ہمیشہ پناہ

In another *qasīdah* he addresses the king on a similar occasion as follows:—

ایا شہرِ یارے کہ گردِ سپاہت   همی چشمِ دیں را کند توتیائی
بود دادِ تو مرجہاں را ہمیشہ   چو اندامِ آزردہ را مومیائی
ز خونِ عدو گردِ فتنہ نشانی   بہ تیغت همہ زنگِ بدعت زدائی
مگر نذرداری کہ هر مہ کہ نوشد   شہے را بہ بندی و شہرے کشائی
مگر عہدداری کہ همچوں سکندر   ملوکِ زمیں را تو قدرت نمائی

The first Persian darbār at Lāhore.

During the rule of the Ghaznavīds, the whole of the Punjāb was annexed to the Persian empire, by virtue of which the first Persian *darbār* was held in the very lifetime of Mahmūd at Lāhore. Besides the Persian nobility, the civil and military officers and the soldiers, many a learned citizen of Ghaznī and Khurāsān, including the poets, came down to stay in the neighbourhood of the Indian capital. The Indian people had become familiar with stray Persian

expressions and sentiments in Subuktagīn's time, but when Mahmūd made his triumphant entry into Hindūstān with his vast Persian following, an impetus was given to Persian learning unprecedented in history, as a result of which they became fully acquainted with the Persian language and Persian ways of life. Immediately after Maḫmūd's death, Lāhore became virtually the seat of the government in preference to Ghaznī, owing to Maḫmūd's stay in the Punjāb for the most part of the year, as necessitated by political exigencies. At this time, the great Ṣūfī saints, Abul Ḫasan 'Alī bin 'Uṣmān al-Hujwīrī and Shaikh Farīd-uddīn Zanjānī, migrated to Lāhore, where they spent the rest of their lives in propagating their mission and educating their new converts in the principles of Persian mysticism.[1]

The ancestors of the renowned poets, Abul Faraj Rūnī and Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, of whom notice will be taken hereafter, had also come to stay in the Punjāb long before it was occupied by Maḫmūd, in consequence of which they were born and bred at Lāhore. At this time, Persian literary taste prevailed all over the territory extending from the cities of Persia to the extreme east of Lāhore. The boundaries of the empire, during Sulṯān Mas'ūd's reign, were extended further eastwards, so that Iṣfahān, Rai, Kirmān, Sajistān, Ghaznī, Sindh, Gujarāt, the

[1] Ma'āṣir ul Kirām, p. 6.

kingdom of Ghōr and the whole of the Punjāb came under his sway, which, in other words, was the realm of Persian culture. The 'Arab historian, Yāqūt, speaking of the extent of Mas'ūd's empire, his literary taste and patronage of letters, observes:—

[1] و اما ابنه السلطان مسعود فقد كان فيه اقبال على علم النجوم و محبة لحقايق العلوم و كان السلطان مسعود شجاعاً كريماً ذا فضائل كثيرة محبّاً للعلماء كثير الاحسان اليهم و التقرب لهم و جاز الشعراء بجوائز عظيمة على قصيدة الف دينار و اعطى آخر لكل بيت الف درهم و كان يكتب خطّاً حسناً و كان ملكه عظيماً فسيحاً ملك اصبهان و الرى و كرمان و سجستان و السند و غزنه و بلاد الغور و الهند و ملك كثيراً منها –

Abul Fazl Baihaqī, the eye witness, writes about Mas'ūd's Persian taste and his command of the language as follows:—

[2] از پادشاهانِ این خاندان عالیمقام رضی اللّٰه عنهم کسے را ندیدم که پارسی چنان خواندے و نبشتے که وے –

> Among the kings of this exalted dynasty, may God be pleased with them!, I did not see any one who could read and write Persian so well as he.

The official and court language of his great empire was Persian. Hence it is authoritatively stated that

[1] Irshād ul Arīb, vol. VI, pp. 308-309.
[2] Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, Mss. fol. 347a.

the poetic taste of the people acquired in the *Ghaznī darbār of India* was keeping pace with the progress made in Khurāsān and elsewhere. Probably it was for this reason that the Ghaznavīd kings finally declared Lāhore to be the metropolis of their Empire in 429 A. H. It is no wonder then, if India, at this stage, produced poets who, in general merit, equalled their Persian colleagues. The two noteworthy personalities, in this connection, were Abū 'Abdullāh Alankatī and Ḥamīduddīn Mas'ūd *Shāl-ī-Kōb*, who flourished at Lāhore. 'Aufī says about the latter that his poetry approached that of Rūdakī and 'Unṣurī[1], the two great leaders of Persian thought who have been already cited. He lived in the time of Sulṭān Shihābuddīn Ghōrī; while the other, Abū 'Abdullāh Alankatī, was a contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ūd. Another striking personality, whose arrival and stay at Lāhore during the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm gave a great incentive to Persian taste and learning in the Punjāb, was Abū Naṣr Fārsī, better known as ادیب (an adept in literature). He founded a University at Lāhore called خانقاه ابو نصر or, according to 'Aufī, خانقاه عمد[2],

[1] Cf. the statement:—

حمیدالدین مسعود بن سعد شالی کوب از احرار خطۂ لو هور بود و در طبع ذکی و شعر وی قرین رودکی و عنصری –

(Lubāb, vol. II, p. 411).

[2] Cf.— الصاحب الکبیر قوام الملک نظام الدین ابو نصر هبة الله الفارسی

which remained for centuries, under different designations, the centre of Persian and Arabic cultures in the East. It imparted instruction in the various branches of Persian learning, besides those of Arabic, comprising chiefly of literature, rhetoric, philosophy, mysticism, commentary of the Qur'ān and Hadīṣ. It was endowed with permanent royal *jāgīrs* bestowed by the government and munificent charities from the public. The number of alumni residing in the hostels attached to the University and those attending as day-scholars could be estimated from the fact that an altogether new town had come into existence with their continual influx.[1] They came from all parts of Hindūstān and even foreign countries like Kāshghar, Trans-Caspian Province, Bukhārā, Samarqand, Khurāsān, Ghaznī and Herāt. This great Eastern University continued to flourish under State patronage until the invasion of Tīmūr. It gave fixed allow-

رحمه‌الله وزیرے صاحبِ کفایت فائضِ د رایت وافر فضل شامل بذل در
دولتِ سلطان رضی ابراهیم رحمه‌الله کارهای بزرگ کرده و به فضل و
کفایت معروف و مشهور گشته – خانقاهِ عمد در لوهور یکےاز خیراتِ اوست –
(Ibid., vol. I, p. 71).

[1] و جوق جوق تشنگان علوم از سائرِ بلادِ هند و ولایتهای کاشغر و ماوراءالنهر و
عراق و بخارا و سمرقند و خراسان و غزنین و هری و غیر ذلک ازاں خیراتِ
منبع منتفع می شدند چنانکه یک آبادانیِ نو در حدودِ لوهور پدید آمد –
(Taẕkira i Salāṯīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 37).

ances to the poor scholars in addition to providing food and clothing to the boarders free of cost. It was mainly because of this institution that the study of the Persian language became wider and more popular day by day among the people of upper Hindūstān.

In the beginning, when the Persian schools were first started in the Punjāb, it was mainly the Muslim population that was, on account of their natural liking and aptitude, benefited thereby, as the Hindūs obviously were less inclined towards the acquisition of Persian arts and sciences. But they cannot be said to have wholly escaped the influence of their Persian neighbours. In fact, after the Muslims, they were the next to take the advantage of such institutions. We see that the Persian Primary schools had sprung up in almost every important street and *bāzār* of the towns of Lāhore and Multān by the end of the 6th century A. H., and the inhabitants, irrespective of their religion, were taking an interest in the study of Persian. As a result of this, the Hindū nobility of the Punjāb, who were the first recipients of honours from the Ghaznavīd kings and their successors, were holding important positions in the civil and military ranks of the State. They not only understood the Persian language, but also cultivated a poetic and literary taste. This was more specially due to the continued influx of cultured Persian families into the towns of the Punjāb, so that their multi-

plicity in the Provinces had made its capital the cradle of the Persian language, even under the Ghaznavīds. Their rule lasted for about two centuries, beginning from the coronation of Sulṯān Maḥmūd in 387 A. H. until 582 A. H., when Shihābuddīn Ghōrī wrested Lāhore from the last Ghaznavīd king, Khusrau bin Bahrāmshāh.[1] Since long before Maḥmūd, there was a continual procession of scholars and poets from Persia and other countries coming to India. The result was that India produced scholars who vied with their Persian colleagues. Among such poets born in India, the first and the most noted is Abul Faraj Rūnī, and the second is Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān. They were born in the Muslim families which had migrated to Lāhore from Khurāsān. Both of them gained their reputation in the reign of Sulṯān Mas'ūd Ghaznavī and his son Ibrāhīm, and produced numerous *qaṣā'id* in praise of the Sulṯāns to whose courts they were attached.

Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān.

It is strange that the Persian historians have, one and all, assigned a Persian home to Mas'ūd.[2] This grave

[1] *Note:*—Niẕāmuddīn Hiravī, in his Tārīkh, states that Khusrau Malik (son of Khusrau bin Bahrāmshāh) was the last Ghaznavīd king from whom Shihābuddīn Ghōrī wrested the kingdom of Lāhore, and whom he sent to Ghaznī as a captive.

[2] Cf. Āẕar:—

مسعود سعد سلمان – بعضے ویرا همدانی دانند و چوں مشهور بجرجانی

error was committed even by such an eminent writer as 'Aufī.[1] Against these verdicts, we have the authority of Mas'ūd himself, which is irrefutable. It appears that Lāhore was his ancestral home, where he owned some landed property as well, which, however, was confiscated in the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm by his officers, who were not on good terms with Mas'ūd. His family, which resided at

است دریں جا نوشته می شود -

(Ātashkadah, p. 162).

Cf. Daulatshāh:—

ابوالفخر مسعود بن سعد سلمان نور قبره جرجانی است و دیوانِ او در
عراقِ عجم و طبرستان و دارالمرز شهرتی عظیم دارد -

(p. 47, ed. by Browne).

Cf. Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet:—

نامِ مسعودش مسعود ..... پدرش سعد بن سلمان و اصلش از همدان
و منشاءش جرجان و خود در خدمتِ مسعود بن محمود و سلطان ابراهیم
غزنوی رتبهٔ بلند و پایهٔ ارجمند گزید امیرے بود بے نظیر و فاضلے صافی ضمیر
در شعر و شاعری کمتر کسے بپایهٔ او رسیده و فصحا تتبع طرز وی را گزیده -

(Majma'ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 514).

Note:—Mīrzā Muhammad bin 'Abdul Wahhāb Qazwīnī is, perhaps, the first Persian scholar who, in his valuable monograph on *Mas'ūd Sa'd i Salmān*, has pointed out that the latter was an Indian and a product of Lāhore.

[1] Cf. مسعود سعد سلمان.... و اگرچه مولدِ او همدان بود

(Vol. II, p. 246)

Lāhore, consisted of 30 to 40 members, including all his relations. He had a son, a daughter, an old mother and two sisters: the daughter had become blind. His father, Sa'd Salmān, had served the Ghaznavīd kings in India for the long period of sixty years. The ancestral property at Lāhore was the main support of the family, so that its confiscation subjected the members to grave hardships, in consequence of which Mas'ūd had undertaken a journey from Lāhore to Ghaznī, to prefer an appeal. But the result was just the opposite: he was imprisoned twice, on suspicion of being a rebel, in the forts of *Nāy* and *Sū*. All these events are fully described in the versified appeal and other *qaṣā'id* which he composed, at different times, in praise of the Sulṭān. A few extracts from them, which throw light on the real point in question, are cited below. In the following, he dwells on his relation with India, detailing his father's long service, the plight of the members of his family, and his exile and imprisonment in the fort of *Sū*:—

[1] شصت سالِ تمام خدمت کرد   پدر بندهٔ سعد بن سلمان
دختر خرد دارم و پسرے   بادو خواهر ببوم هندستان
دختر از اشکِ دیدهٔ نابینا   پسر از روزگار سرگردان
سی چهل تن ز خویش و از پیوند   بسته در راحتِ تو جان و روان

[1] Dīwān i Ustād Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Mss. fol. 29a (Prof. A. Q. Fānī, Lucknow University).

. . . .

[1] و لیک زالے دارم که درکنار مرا   چو جانِ شیریں پروردو مرد کردو کلاں
نه بست هرگز اورا خیال و نندیشید   که منَ بقلعهٔ سو مانم او بهندستاں

For sixty whole years service was rendered thee
By my father, Sa'd bin Salmān;
I have a small daughter and a son,
With two sisters in the soil of India;
The daughter on account of tears of the eye is blind,
The son on account of the vicissitudes of time perplexed;
From thirty to forty people among my relations and kinsmen
Have bound with thy comfort their lives and souls;

. . . .

But I have an old lady (my mother) who, in her lap,
Brought me up like her sweet soul, and saw me grow up a man;
Never had she thought or imagined
That I would remain in the fort of *Sū*, and she in India.

In another *qaṣīdah* he declares that India is his مولد (place of birth) where he has his father's property

[1] Ibid. fol. 19a.

and his son and daughter:—

[1] سوی مولد کشید هوش مرا   بویهٔ دختر و هوای پسر
چون بهندوستان شدم ساکن   بر ضیاع و عقارِ پیرِ پدر

Towards my land of birth drew my thoughts
The fragrant breath of my daughter and the longing for my son;
Since in India I became a sojourner
On the fertile and barren land of my old father.

Still more significant are the lines in which he recalls Lāhore with passionate longing and emotion, fixing it as his birth place:—

[2] مولدم لوهور و از لوهور دور   ویحک ای لوهور بے تو کے سرور

My birth-place is Lāhore, and I am far away from Lāhore,
Alas, O Lāhore, where is joy without thee?

[3] چه یادِ شهرِ لهاور و یارِ خویش کنم   مبادکس که شد از شهر و یارِ خویش نفور

How fondly I recall to my mind the city of Lāhore and my friends!
May there be none who shows disgust with his own city and friends.

[1] Ibid. fol. 27b.
[2] Ibid. 33a.
[3] Ibid. fol. 18b.

[1] بهیچ نوع گناهے دگر نمی دانند   مرا جز اینکه دریں شهر مولد و منشا ست

No crime of mine other than this they know

That in this city (Lāhore) I was born and bred.

Mas'ūd was a distinguished and most accomplished poet writing in the Persian language. His birth took place in the reign of Sulṯān Maḥmūd, but he acquired fame in Sulṯān Ibrāhīm's time. In the beginning of his poetic career he was greatly honoured by the Sulṯān, but subsequently fell in his estimation, because of suspected infidelity towards the State, and was consequently imprisoned in the fort of *Nāy*. Later, he was released on Ibrāhīm's death, but was again put in prison in the fort of *Sū* by his successor. On his second release, he gave up the service of the king and repaired to Ghaznī, where he passed his life in contemplation and retirement. He has been declared by competent judges and the leaders of thought in Persia a perfect master of poetry. Thus says 'Aufī:—

[2] مسعود سعد که از نوادرِ ایام و افاضلِ انام بود گاه ببال اقبال در فضای هوای جلال پرواز کردے... گاه چون نَے بشکرِ فضل و افضال کام جهان را شیریں کردے.... و بر او رنگِ بیان سلطان بود.... و انچه آز شعر او استماع افتاد است هم اُستادانه و مطبوع است و بیتے چند از لطایفِ اشعارِ او ایراد کرده آید –

[1] Ibid. fol. 15a.

[2] Lubāb, vol. II, p. 246.

Nizāmī ʻArūzi Samarqandī writes:

[1]و ارباب خرد و انصاف دانند که حسیاتِ مسعود در علو بچه درجه
است و در فصاحت بچه پایه بود – وقت باشد که من از اشعارِ او همی
خوانم موی بر اندامِ من بر پای خیزد و جای آن بود که آب از چشمِ من
برود –

> And the possessors of wisdom and impartial judgment know in what degree are the poetic touches of Masʻūd striking in grandeur, and to what extent in eloquence. At times, when I read his poems (I feel as if) the hair stands on end in my body, and it chances that tears very nearly flow from my eyes.

The most striking point about Masʻūd's poetic talent is that the great masters of Persian thought like Hakīm Sanā'ī, Amīr Muʻizzī, Mukhtārī, Adīb i Sābīr and Anwarī have followed his style of writing, specially in *qasīdah*, and have accepted him as their master and guide. Of these, Sanā'ī, Muʻizzī and Mukhtārī were among his contemporaries and friends. Sanā'ī, in fact, was passionately fond of Masʻūd's poetry, and had taken upon himself the task of collecting Masʻūd's verses in a separate book called *dīwān*. This is borne out by Sanā'ī's own statement in which he pays a high tribute of praise to Masʻūd's compo-

[1] Chahār Maqālah, p. 56, Lucknow edition.

sition, comparing its charm and effect on the people to those of the *Qur'ān* on the unbelievers in converting them to the faith when the Holy verses were read to them by the associates and companions of the Holy Prophet. The following lines from a *qiṯ'a* of Sanā'ī addressed to Mas'ūd are worthy of notice:—

[1] چون بدید این رهی که گفتهٔ تو   کافران را همی مسلمان کرد
کرد شعرِ جمیلِ تو ز انسان   که صحابی ز نزلِ قرآن کرد
چون علوِّ جهانَ بشعرِ تو دید   عقلِ او گردِ طبعَ جولان کرد
شعرها را بجمله درَ دیوان   چونَ فراهمِ نهاد دیوان کرد
تا چو دریای موجزن سخنت   در جهان دُرّ و گوهر ارزان کرد
گفت آری سنائی از سر جهل   لعل را با خزف بمیزان کرد
لیک معذور دار از انکه مرا   معجزِ شعرهات حیران کرد

....

پس چو شعری بگفت و نیک آمد   داغِ مسعودِ سعدِ سلمان کرد
شعر چون دُرّ تو حسودِ ترا   جگرَ و دل چو لعل و مرجان کرد
سخنِ عذب سَهلِ ممتنع است   بر همه شعر خواندن آسان کرد
چه دعا گویمت که خود هنرت   مر ترا پیشوای گیهان کرد

When this slave saw that thy poetry
Turned the infidels into Muslims;
He did with thy beautiful verses the same
As the Companions of the Prophet did with the
Qur'ān;
When he saw the world uplifted by thy poetry,

[1] Dīwān i Ustād Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Mss., fol. 56a.

His wisdom swiftly went round his disposition (desire);
When all his verses in a book
He (Sanā'ī) put together, he named it *dīwān*;
So that thy speech like a surging sea
Made the pearls and jewels in the world cheap;
Sanā'ī said, "Aye in ignorance,
He put the ruby along with a shell in one balance";
But pardon me for this reason that me
The miracles of thy verse hath perplexed;
Thereafter if any one who composed a line and it was good,
It took the brand of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān;
Thy pearl-like verse made thy enemies'
Liver and heart like ruby and coral;
Thy sweet poetry looks easy but impossible to imitate,
It made easy for all to recite poetry;
What good could I wish thee since thine own skill
Verily made thee leader of the world.

Adīb i Ṣābir, while priding on his poetry, recalls to his mind the powers of Mas'ūd thus:—

[1]گر این طرز سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودے
بجاں صد آفرین کر دے روان سعد سلمانش

[1] Dr. Hādī Hasan, Falakī Shīrwānī, p. 92 (James G. Forlong Fund, vol. VI, London, 1929).

If this beautiful style of composition in poetry
  had been the lot of Mas'ūd,
A hundred tributes of praise the soul of Sa'd
  Salmān would have paid to itself.

Amīr Mu'izzī, the poet-laureate of the court of Malik Shāh Saljūqī, and Adīb i Sābir both were among the great admirers of Mas'ūd. They hailed him not only as their master but as their *lord* in the realm of Persian verse. Mu'izzī's tribute is of special significance, since he goes many a step beyond his comrade, and assigns to Mas'ud's work a rank after the Qur'ān, a tribute which, very curiously, coincides with Sanā'ī's. Thus says Mu'izzī:—

[1] آں شاعرے سخنور کز نظمِ او نکوتر　کس در جہاں کلامے نشنید بعدِ قرآں
در مجلسِ بزرگاں خالی مباد ہرگز　پیرایۂ بزرگی مسعودِ سعدِ سلماں

That learned poet, better than whose verse
None in this world heard a speech after the
  Qur'ān;
In the assembly of the great, may never be amiss
The ornament of greatness: Mas'ūd Sa'd
  Salmān.

In another *qasīdah*, he compares Mas'ūd's power

Note:—The learned author has found this verse to belong to Adīb i Sābir, and corrects Daulatshāh who wrongly ascribes it to Falakī. (Cf. Daulatshāh, p. 47).

[1] Dīwān i Malik ul Kalām Amīr Mu'izzī, Mss. fol. 43a.

over poetry with that of Solomon over genii :—

[1] شریف خاطرِ مسعودِ سعدِ سلماں را
مسخر است سخن چوں پری سلیماں را
حکایتِ خردش روشنی دهد دل را
روایتِ سخنش تازگی دهد جاں را
اگر دلیلِ بزرگی است فضل پس نه عجب
که او دلیلِ بزرگی است فضلِ یزداں را

To the noble intellect of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān
Poetry is captive as fairy to Solomon;
The tale of his quick wit gives light to the heart,
Recitations from his poetry impart freshness to the soul;
If learning be the sign of greatness, it is not a wonder then
That he is the sign of the greatness of God's munificence.

Mukhtārī calls Mas'ūd an unfathomable ocean and a deep and endless cloud of poetry :—

[2] چوں جز و بکل باز شد معانی — زی خاطرِ مسعود سعدِ سلماں
مخدوم سخن پر وراں مجلس — سر دفتر خواں گستراں میداں
طبعش به سخن ده هزار دریا — دستش به سخا صد هزار چنداں
ابر هنرش ناپدید گوشه — بحر سخنش ناپدید پایاں

[1] Ibid. fol. 13b.
[2] Dīwān-i-Mukhtārī, Mss., fol. 43a.

Like the part to the whole, the meaning reverted
To the intellect of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān;
He is the leader of the nourishers of poetry in the assembly,
He is the chief of the spreaders of the banquet of discourse before the public;
His poetic imagination equals ten thousand seas,
His hand in liberality is a hundred times as great;
The cloud of his merit is without end,
The sea of his poetry has no shore.

In the following lines Mukhtārī further tells us that Mas'ūd's poetry was taken to Khurāsān as a rare gift to the people. This, in other words, means that contemporary Persia bowed to Mas'ūd's poetic genius, and greatly welcomed his poetry:

[1] هر بیت کم اندیشه ترز شعرت   شد نادره تر تحفهٔ خراسان
اشعارِ ترا در جهان گرفتن   باشد اثرِ خاتمِ سلیمان

Every couplet of thine from the least thought out composition
Became a rare gift for Khurāsān;
To be in possession of thy verses in this world
Is just as good in effect as to possess the seal of Solomon.

[1] Ibid.

The universal esteem in which his poetry was held in Persia is a real asset to India's achievement in the art of Persian versification and makes it an equal partner in the elevation of Persian letters. What is most important to notice in this connection is that many a Persian poet, both in Mas'ūd's life-time and after his death, came down to Lāhore from the Persian centres of learning, and became his pupil and his pupil's pupil.

There are several *qaṣā'id* of Mas'ūd in his *dīwān* in praise of Maḥmūd's grandson, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. The following *qaṣīdah*, in which the poet dwells on Ibrā-hīm's bravery and exhorts him to extend the bound-aries of his Indian Empire by waging war and making fresh conquests, is quoted below as an illustration of his heroic poetry:—

[1] ای عزمِ سفر کرده و بستهٔ کمرِ فتح
بگشاد چپ و راست فلک بر تو درِ فتح

مسعودِ جهانگیر که از دهر سعادت
هر لحظه بسوی تو فرستد نفرِ فتح

مانندِ سناں سر بسوی رزم نهادی
چوں تیر میانِ تو ببندد کمرِ فتح

صد فتح کنی بیشک و صد سال ازیں پس
در هند بهر خطّه ببیند اثرِ فتح

[1] Muntakhab, vol. I, pp. 36-7.

چندانت بود فتح که در عرصهٔ عالم
هر روز بگویند بهر جا خبرِ فتح
رمحِ تو و تیرِ تو و شمشیرِ تو باشد
گر نقش کند رحمِ مصور صورِ فتح
چون گفت زنم زخمِ سبک تیغِ گرانت
سوگند گرانش نبود جز بسرِ فتح

He also wrote *qaṣā'id* in praise of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznavī. In this connection it may be noted that he has made an important departure from the established practice in the sphere of panegyric poetry which was, up till his time, limited to *qaṣīdah*. Very few poets, indeed, had before him used any other form of metrical composition as a vehicle for praise. But Mas'ūd extended its bounds by using freely all types of poetry for the purpose. The forms which were commonly employed by him to supersede *qaṣīdah* were *musaddas*, *ghazal* and *qiṭ'a*. Some instances of each are given below:—

Musaddas

[1] بهرام شاه خسروِ گیتی کشای گشت   خورشیدِ دهر و سایهٔ فرِّ خدای گشت
چترش که شد همایون فرِّ همای گشت   اورا خدای عز و جل رهنمای گشت
آن خنجرِ ز دو دش دولت فزای گشت
روی عدوی او شده چون چترِ او سیاه

[1] Ibid. p. 43.

تا در زمانه شاهِ جهاں تخمِ عدل کاشت
هر مجرمے که یافت از و جرم در گذاشت
گر مدحِ او سپهر بر آبِ رواں گذاشت
چوں نقشِ سنگ صورتش آبِ رواں نداشت
تا اوجِ چرخِ دینِ حق و داد سر فراشت
آں شاهِ داد گستر و حق و رزو دیں پناه

Ghazal

ای سلسلهٔ مشک فگنده بقمر بر
خندیده لبِ پُر شکرِ تو بشکر بر
چوں قامتِ تو نیست سهی سر و خراماں
چوں چهرهٔ تو نیست گلِ لعل ببر بر
گل از سبقِ چهرهٔ تو شسته بخوں رخ
سر و از حسدِ قامتِ تو دست بسر بر
تا در سرِ من گشته که در بر کشمت تنگ
گه دست بسر بر زنم و گاه بهبر بر
چنداں غم و اندوه فراز آمده در دل
تا توده شدست اندُه و غم یک به دگر بر
دل شد سپرِ جاں ز نهیبِ مژهٔ تو
تا چوں مژه زخمی زند آید به سپر بر
تا هجر نشسته است به نزدیکِ تو ساکن
آں وصل سراسیمه بماند است بدر بر
من بر تو همی هر چه کنم دست نیابم
ای رشکِ قمر دست که ناید بقمر بر

وله

با من بتافت یارو نتابم ز تابِ او
طاقت نماند بیش مرا با عتابِ او

از رشکِ آن نقاب که بر روی او رسد
گشت این تنم ضعیف چو تارِ نقابِ او

چو نوشم آید ارچه چو زهرم دهد جواب
زیراکه هست بر لب راهِ جوابِ او

داند که هست بسته بز لفین او دلم
هر ساعتے فزون کند آن پیچ و تابِ او

خوردم شرابِ عشقش یک جام و زان هنوز
اندر سرِ منست خمارِ شرابِ او

چون زرِّ پخته شد رخ و چون مشکِ خام تن
زان آفتابِ تابان و ز مشکنابِ او

گر زر ز آفتاب زیادت شود همی
نقصان چرا شود زرم از آفتابِ او

چنگِ عقابِ زلفش و روی تذرو و رخ
ایمن رخِ تذرو و ز چنگِ عقابِ او

بازِ سپید روی غرابِ سیاه زلف
و ز بیم باز او شده لرزان غرابِ او

Qit'a.

چون بدیدم بدیدهٔ تحقیق که جهان منزل فنا ست کنون
زادِ مردانِ نیک محضر را روی در برقعِ خفا ست کنون
آسمان چون حریفِ نا منصف بر رهِ عشوه و دغا ست کنون

طبعِ بیمارِ من ز بستر آز شکر یزداں درست خواست کنوں
و ز عقاقیر خانۂ توبہ نو شدا روی صدق خواست کنوں
ویں زبان جہاں خدیو سرای ما دح حضرتِ خداست کنوں
لہجۂ تو نوای خوش زخمہ بلبل باغ مصطفاست کنوں
عزتِ جامۂ قصب بر من چوں فزوں شد خرد بکاست کنوں
سر آسودہ و تن آزادہ پنج گز پشم و پنبہ راست کنوں
مدتے خدمتِ شما کردم نوبتِ خدمتِ خداست کنوں

There are about five thousand verses in Mas'ūd's Persian *dīwān*, but his poetic flight was not confined to Persian only. He wrote three *dīwāns*: one *Arabic*, one *Persian* and one *Hindī*. This is borne out by 'Aufī's statement as follows:—

[1] و او راسه دیوان است یکے بتازی و یکے بپارسی و یکے بہندوئی

And he has *three dīwāns*, one in Arabic, one in Persian and one in Hindī.

This is further supported by Amīr Khusrau:—

[2] پیش ازیں از شاہان سخن کسے راسه دیوان نبود مگر مرا که خسرو ممالکِ کلامم – مسعود سعد سلمان را اگرچه هست اما آں سه دیوان در عبارتِ عربی و فارسی و هندوی است و در پارسی مجرد کسے سخن راسه قسم نه کرده جز من –

Before this, none from among the kings of

[1] Lubāb, vol. II, p. 246.
[2] Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction, p. 66.

> poetry had three *dīwāns* except myself who am the sovereign of the territories of speech; although Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān possesses three, yet those three *dīwāns* are in Arabic, Persian and Hindī languages, and no one divided Persian poetry exclusively into three kinds but me.

His Arabic and Hindī works prove his versatility and his rare accomplishments of which no parallel instance is to be found in the Ghaznavīd period. It is regrettable that not a single specimen of his pure Hindī composition is preserved in any of the hitherto known chronicles, but some instances of the admixture of Hindī with Persian are quoted below from his Persian *dīwān* :—

بر شکال ای بہار هندستاں　　ای نجات از بلای تابستاں

ای پرستار سنگ و سکھہ درپن　　وی گرفتار عشق شمع و لگن

دل نمی ارزد که از مستیش کس　　وارهاند یا به بیو هاری دهد

This age, after Maḫmūd's regime, is the most noted in the history of Persian literature in India for the productivity of its poets and prose-writers. When Bahrām Shāh died, his *darbār* was full of Persian and Indian poets, but Mas'ūd was the second great poet, after Abul Faraj Rūnī, who was a genuine Indian product.

Mahmūd's Indian campaigns.

Mahmūd fought *seventeen* important battles in connection with his conquest of India, which are given in order of succession as follows[1]:—

1.	Forts of Sarhad and Lāmghān	390	A.H.
2.	Peshāwar	391	,,
3.	Bhīrā (Bhātyā) and Bhatindā ..	395	,,
4.	Multān	396	,,
5.	Nausā	398	,,
6.	Nagarkōt	399	,,
7.	Attock and Narain	400	,,
8.	Fort of Multān	401	,,
9.	Fort of Nandūna (borders of Lāhore)	404	,,
10.	Thānēsar	405	,,
11.	Fort of Lōhkōt (borders of Kashmīr)	406	,,
12.	Meerut and Kannauj	409	,,
13.	Mathrā	410	,,
14.	Lāhore, Kirāt and Narain ..	412	,,
15.	Forts of Kālinjar and Gwalior	413	,,
16.	Sōmnāth	416	,,
17.	Naharwāla (expedition against Jats)	418	

[1] This list has been prepared by a reference to Baihaqī, foll. 57b-62a; Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, pp. 29-37 and 42-59; Zain ul Akhbār by Gurdīzī, pp. 63-88; 'Utbī, p. 134 and the following; Farishtah, vol. I, pp. 24-35; and The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna by Dr. Nāzim, pp. 86-122.

His titles:—
1. Yamīn ud Daulah Walī Amīr ul Mūminīn.

The Caliph of Baghdād, al Qādir billāh 'Abbāsī, had conferred upon Mahmūd, through the efforts and personal recommendations of Imām Abū Manṣūr Ṣa'ālibī of Nīshāpūr, who was specially deputed on this mission to Baghdād, the title of: يمين الدولة ولى اميرالمومنين *Yamīn ud Daulah Walī Amīr ul Mūminīn* in recognition of Mahmūd's brilliant victories and services to Islām in India. But Mahmūd's literary wit could not tolerate the word ولى, which, in common Arabic speech and address, was used for a *friend* as well as a *slave*. He, therefore, decided to have it changed for والى, by sending rich gifts with 100,000 *dīnārs*, through his emissary at Baghdād, to the Caliph, by way of present, with a view to securing from him one *alif* more to the original title, to remove the stigma which the word ولى, carried with it. The Caliph understood the real significance of Mahmūd's anxiety, and praised him for his great learning and sagacity, and acceded to his request.[1]

[1] Cf.—
و اورا در منشورِ خلافة نوشتند سلطان يمين‌الدولة ولى اميرالمومنين و
كلمهٔ ولى در لقبِ عام بمعنى صديق و مملوک باشد پس سلطان ازين مظنّه
خواست كه آنرا با يزادِ الفى مبدل گرداند فى‌الحال اميرِ سفارت امام ابو
منصور ثعالبى را كه برسمِ وكالت ببغداد فرستاده بود نوشت و مكتوبے مختتم
با تحائف و صد هزار دينار براى نذرِ خليفه بدستِ قاضى محمد بن شيخ
رفيع‌الدين فقيه روان كرد – چون رسولِ سلطان بايں منوال ببارگاهِ خلافة

In addition to this, *nine* more titles were conferred upon him as follows:—

2. ‘Aẓd ud Daulah wa Muayyid ul Millah,	1. ‘Aẓd ud Daulah wa Mua’yyid ul Millah
3. Shihāb ud Daulah wad Dīn,	2. Shihāb ud Daulah wad Dīn
4. Amīn ul Millah	3. Amīn ul Millah
5. Jamāl ul Islām wal Muslimīn,	4. Jamāl ul Islām wal Muslimīn
6. Kahf ud Daulah wal Islām,	5. Kahf ud Daulah wal Islām
7. Amīr ul Muslimīn,	6. Amīr ul Muslimīn
8. Jamāl ul Millah,	7. Jamāl ul Millah
9. Abul Ghāzī,	8. Abul Ghāzī al Mujāhid fī Sabīlillāh
10. Muhī ul Islām.	9. Muhī ul Islām

All these titles were freely and spontaneously showered upon him by the people and the neigh-

رسید و تحائف و مکتوبِ منیع سلطان را بحضور خلیفه القادر باللّٰه عباسی گذرانید امام زبانِ شفاعت برکشاد که محمود که مدتِ سی سال عمرِ عزیز را در حربِ کفار و روشن کردنِ شمعِ دینِ مبین در بلاد و امصارِ هند که تیره و تار بود صرف نموده عوضِ صد دینار یک الفِ الحاقی می خواهد و عظیم حق دارد – خلیفه با اعیان مشاورت کرد و از مظنه سلطان خبردار شده علم و فضل وزیر کیِ اورا بستود و سپس بالقابِ والی و سلطان امثله نوشتند –

(Taẕkira i Salāṯīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 47).

Also, cf. Daulatshāh, p. 19:—

خلیفه از کمالِ فضل و کیاستِ سلطان تعجب کرد الخ

bouring Muslim States, including the Caliphate, after his great feat at Sōmnāth in entering the temple and breaking the idol, which symbolised his mission of carrying the name of Allāh in the heathen land and planting there the Islāmic formula:

لا اله الاالله محمد رسول الله

There is no god, but Allāh; and Muhammad is His Apostle.

The storming of the fort of Sōmnāth.

The storming of Sōmnāth was a great event in history, and was hailed throughout the Muslim world as the triumph of Islām over idolatry. The temple inside the fort was not only held as a sacred place of worship by the Hindūs in Western India, but it was an important centre of Hindū religion and national spirit. The idol *Nāth* or *Manāt* was supposed to give guidance and inspiration to its countless devotees as their patron *god*. The news of Mahmūd's expedition to Sōmnāth had brought all the neighbouring Rājās together to defend, with all their might, the sacred temple against desecration at the hands of the invaders. When the Sultān led his attack, he had to face the bitterest opposition of the bravest army of the Rājās and the bands of devout worshippers of the image, whose zeal to fight in defence of their god, religion and honour was not less than that of the Muslim *Mujāhids* who had collected there

under the banner of Islām. The two armies met with unshaken faith, the one in Allāh and the other in the idol, with the result that victory fell to the arms of the servants of Allāh on Friday, 15th Ẓulqa'dah, 416 A. H., and the forces of the enemy were routed by the heroic action of Muslim cavalry under superior generalship.

Proclamation of Muslim victory by trumpets and call to prayer; Counter-attacks by the Hindūs and the Muslims.

The walls of the fort were then scaled, and a public proclamation of Muslim victory was made by trumpets and call to Friday prayer by *Mu'azzins* from above the parapets of the fort. But the Hindūs, though they apparently had suffered defeat and fled in disorder, abandoning their posts, rallied soon after under their generals, determined to recapture the lost positions and to oust the Muslims from the fort. When the entire army of the Sultān, having just finished their prayers and thanksgivings to God, were at ease and enjoying the fruits of their hard-earned victory, the enemy suddenly reappeared and rushed the gates. Thousands laid themselves low before their deity and, invoking its benediction and aid, gave a fierce battle to the Muslims who could not stand the dash. Before sun-set, they were forced to surrender all strategic points, thus leaving the Hindūs undisputed masters of the situation.[1] The next

[1] Ibn ul Aṣīr, vol. IX, p. 242.

morning the Muslims made a fresh rally and charged their opponents with stupendous energy and vigour with the result that the latter's morale was broken, and they continued to lose their ground until they were completely overpowered and put to flight, leaving their arms and their dead behind. Thus the fort was recaptured and finally came into full possession of the Muslims.

Mahmūd's ambition to become "idol-breaker" *not* "idol-seller."

Before Mahmūd laid his hand on the image, the Hindū Rājās and the devout worshippers had approached him with fervent appeals to spare their deity, and offered him one million *gold mohars* (1,000,000 *asharfī*) as a consideration, a price which he was readily advised by his generalissimo to accept. But Mahmūd's reply to them was that, if he did so he would be known throughout the Muslim world and for generations to come as بت فروش "*idol-seller*" which he disapproved, remarking that his ambition was to become and be known to the world as بت شکن "*idol-breaker*", to please his Allāh and the Holy Prophet.[1]

[1] Cf. the statement:—

و در حکایات الصالحین آورده اند که هرگاه محمود قصدِ منات کرد سائرِ راجگان و برهمنانِ آن ابعاد و امصار متفق شدند که ده لک دینار نثار فرقِ آنحضرت بکنیم و رافت نمودند که سلطان مرورا بگذارد و از بت شکنی به دلشکنی نگراید اما محمود را خوش نیفتاد و گفت نمی خواهم "بت فروش"

Discovery of hidden treasure in the image; estimate of the wealth of the temple; the Sultān's share; presents to Mecca and other places; gate of the temple escorted to Ghaznī.

When the image was broken and its head was severed from the trunk, it was discovered to contain a hidden treasure in the shape of precious jewels, ornaments and a large stock of rare stones, which had been presented to the deity by the credulous public and the rich Hindū States from time immemorial. The gold furniture and other equipment of the temple, including a *takht* and about 100 smaller images of solid gold valued at 100,000,000 *dīnārs*, of which one-fifth (i.e. 20,000,000 *dīnārs*) was the Sultān's personal share.[1] Thus Providence gave him many times more than what the Rājās had promised to do.

Of the broken pieces of the image, one was sent with rich presents to Mecca, one to Baghdād, and others remained at Ghaznī to demonstrate to the world his might and to impress the Muslim countries favourably. The huge artistic gate of the temple was specially taken under escort to the capital seat, Ghaznī, with great pomp and ceremony, and was received on arrival by the representatives of the royal

بگردم و بایں رسوائی نام من بماند مرا ملک بسیار و دولتِ کامگار مساعداست
جزِ رضاے الٰہی و سرخروئی پیشِ حضرتِ رسالت پناہی نمی جویم –

(Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 51).

[1] Rauzat us Safā, p. 741.

house, the Qāẕīs, the civil and military officers of the Sulṯān and a vast crowd of the over-zealous public, including the *'Ulamā* and the teachers of the educational institutions. On entering the city gate it was led in gorgeous procession, through the main streets, to the central mosque, and then put in the royal museum as a fine art exhibit.

Causes of the attack on Sōmnāth.

The causes of Maḫmūd's leading an attack on Sōmnāth, which was a most arduous and hazardous task, were mainly two. The first, which is commonly mentioned by the Persian chroniclers, was the king's own ambition to serve Islām, like the early Caliphs, to earn the benedictions of Allāh and the Holy Prophet; and a name and place for himself in the world besides. His court poets, in their long panegyric *qaṣīdās* have specially compared him in the conquest of territories with Alexander the Great.[1]

[1] Cf. Farrukhī:—

فسانه گشت و کهن شد حدیثِ اسکندر   سخن نَو آر که نَو را حلا و تیست دگر

Cf. 'Asjadī:—

تا شاهِ خسروان سفرِ سومنات کرد   کردار خویش را عَلَمِ معجزات کرد
شاها تو از سکندر بیشی بدان جهت   کو هَر سفر که کرد بدیگر جهات کرد

Cf. Zīnatī:—

مگر عهدداری که همچو سکندر   ملوکِ زمین را تو قدرت نمائی

The second cause, as emphasised by the 'Arab historians, was that the Hindūs held the idol of Sōmnāth as the *patron-god*, and dismissed Maḥmūd's Indian conquests and his destruction of smaller temples with the remark that Sōmnāth was displeased with them, otherwise Maḥmūd or any other mighty monarch on earth, who believed in Allāh, could not injure them. When this news was carried to Maḥmūd, he made a vow to destroy this patron god immediately,[1] to uphold for all times to come the doctrine of the Unity of God preached by Islām. He, therefore, marched from his Capital on this mission on Monday, 22nd *Sha'bān*, 416 A. H., with a small army which swelled with volunteers on its way to Multān, his first halt. When Maḥmūd arrived at Sōmnāth, he heard the Brahmins say the same thing that none from among the kings could lay his hand on the deity, and if any one would dare this insult, his entire house would be damned and his seed uprooted. Thrice cursed he must be. This talk was the general topic within the temple and outside it, among the worshippers and in the rank and file of the Hindū army. But Maḥmūd on his conquest of the fort was not deterred by any such predictions. He solemnly entered the temple and broke the idol, to demonstrate to the credulous multitudes the folly and falsity of their ways.

[1] Ibn ul Aṣīr, vol. IX, p. 241.

Mischief of a guide who led Maḫmūd and his army astray; their lucky escape.

This act of Maḫmūd's infuriated the Hindūs still more, and they resolved on making his retreat difficult, if not impossible. Apart from several encounters which the Sulṯān had to face during his return journey home, the one most dangerous plot hatched against him was to see his army entrapped and destroyed in the waterless desert of Sindh. With this end in view a fanatic *jātrī*, who was known to be an experienced traveller, was made to offer his loyal services to Maḫmūd as his chief guide. The unsuspecting Sulṯān readily gave his assent and, conferring upon him the customary *khil'at*, admitted him to the royal presence. On the way he played false and, risking his own life, led the Sulṯān and his army by a tedious untrodden track, under the pretence of leading them by a shorter route, into the midst of a deep sandy desert in the hope that the whole army would be entrapped and die of thirst with its leader. But luckily Maḫmūd got out of it safely and very few lives were lost.

The linguistic effects of the attack; its repercussions on Hindū faith.

This expedition took Maḫmūd nearly eight months from the start to the finish, and supplied much food and material for the poets who sang of his praises at almost every step he advanced. Whenever the soldiers fought a battle, conquered a fort or overcame any real difficulties in their way, the poets

always made it a subject for their poems, extolling the heroic deeds of the warriors, which kept their spirits high. The conquest of Sōmnāth was perhaps the most important of all, for on this occasion not only did the poets in attendance write congratulatory poems, but even those who were far away from the scene wrote *qaṣā'id* in honour of the king, comparing him with the great ancient monarchs of Persia, like Jamshīd, Kai-Khusrau and Anūshīrwān. Several poets declared him to be superior to Alexander the Great in making conquests, and gave their own reasons for it. In this way the impetus given to Persian versification in India and the services rendered to it as a whole were very great and valuable. New channels of thought had to be found by poets who were competing with one another for supremacy, in the hope of rewards from the Sulṭān. Thus his Indian campaigns created a real and popular taste for epic and historical poems in contrast with the mere panegyric which had fallen into decay.

It also paved the way for Islām in Kāthiawār and Gujarāt. Many a devout worshipper from among the Hindū public and the intelligentsia, whose opinion carried weight with his community, embraced Islām, seceding from idol-worship. The Persian writers, both of the contemporary and the later periods, have attached greater importance to Maḥmūd's last two expeditions in the rapid propagation of Islām in Western India than to all the combined efforts of

missionaries and propagandists who had worked before him.

Mahmūd's correspondence department: a great factor in creating a taste for and in the spread of Persian language in upper Hindūstān.

The one great factor in creating a general taste for the Persian language among the people of Hindūstān was the institution of دیوان رسالت (correspondence department) founded by him, which achieved great popularity. It was an essential element in the administration of the empire, and was considered to be one of the main pillars of his power and kingly dignity in and outside India. It was more or less similar in its functions to the foreign department of a modern European power. It was manned by a governor, or secretary to the government, who was styled صاحب دیوان رسالت and a sub-governor or نائب دیوان with an elaborate and efficient staff of *dabīrs* (correspondence clerks). The duty of the latter was to make drafts in the Persian language, giving instructions on all matters of the administrative policy of the government to the various heads of the departments on the one hand; and to address *communiques* to the foreign countries on the other. The importance attached to the post of *dabīr* was very great. He sometimes commanded more respect and favour from the Sulṭān than even a Minister. Only the learned who were efficient writers of Persian prose, having a good taste in poetry, were eligible

for the appointment. Thus the competition among the public for possessing a competent knowledge of the Persian language was very keen, since every one who had brains and ambition aspired to this post.

Lane-Poole's estimate of Mahmūd's character, literary taste and disposition towards the vanquished.

Lane-Poole's estimate of Maḫmūd's character, literary taste, and disposition towards the vanquished is as follows:

> Maḫmūd was not cruel; he seldom indulged in wanton slaughter; and when a treaty of peace had been concluded, the rājā and his friends were set free.[1]
>
> Napoleon imported the choicest works of art from the countries he subdued to adorn his Paris, Maḫmūd did better, he brought the artists and the poets themselves to illuminate his court. From the cities of the Oxus and the shores of the Caspian, from Persia and Khurāsān, he pressed into his service the lights of oriental letters, and compelled them not unwillingly, to revolve round his sun like planets in his firmament of glory. The ruin of the Samānīd dynasty, who had been noble fosterers of Persian literature, left many scholars unprovided, and these came eagerly to the

[1] Mediaeval India, p. 19.

new home of learning.[1]

Nizām ul Mulk's view of Mahmūd.

The great Nizām 'ul Mulk, famous vazīr of the Saljūq kings, writes in his *Siyāsat Nāmah* that Mahmūd was a great lover and patron of learning, and was a devout, magnanimous and just emperor, the like of whom was hard to find in the Islāmic world.

Mahmūd, in fact, was not only a patron of Muslim lore, but himself possessed a fine literary and poetic taste. Some specimens of his poetical composition in Persian are still preserved in history, which go to prove that he was a poet of a high order. The following three verses from his elegy, which he wrote on the death of one of his *harem*, named "Gulistān" whom he dearly loved, are quoted by 'Aufī:

[2] تا تو ای ماه زیر خاک شدی — خاک را بر سپهر فضل آمد
دل جزع کرد گفتم ای دل صبر — این قضا از خدای عدل آمد
آدم از خاک بود و خاکی شد — هر که زو زاد با زاصل آمد

Another instance of his Persian poetry is the following, which he had written a few days before his death:

[3] ز بیمِ تیغِ جهانگیر و گُرزِ قلعه کشای
جهانَ مسخرِ من شد چو تن مسخرِ رای

[1] Ibid. p. 30.
[2] Lubāb, vol. I, p. 24.
[3] Ibid. p. 25; also see Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 19.

گہے بعزّ و بدولت همی نشستم شاد
گہے ز حرص همی رفتمے ز جای بجای
بسے تفاخر کرد که من کسے هستم
کنوں برابر بینم همی امیر و گدای
اگر دو کلّهٔ پوسیده بر کشی ز د و گور
سر امیر که داند ز کلّهٔ گدای
هزار قلعه کشادم بیک اشارتِ دست
بسے مصاف شکستم بیک فشردنِ پای
چو مرگ تاختن آورد هیچ سود نکرد
بقا بقای خدایست و ملک ملکِ خدای

His poetic insight and patronage of Persian verse could be judged from the fact that he had rewarded Ghaẕā'irī with *seven thousand* gold *mohars* in appreciation of only *two* verses of a *qaṣīdah* in which the poet had very beautifully used the figure استغراق (hyperbole) and raised its level considerably. The verses referred to are quoted below together with the opening lines written in تفخریه (self-exaltation), which is an equally important figure of speech in Persian poetry, and has been very popular with poets:

[1] اگر مراد بجاه اندر است و جاه بمال   مرا ببیں که ببینی جمال را بکمال
من آں کسم که بمن تا بحشر فخر کند   هر آنکه بر سر یک بیت بر نویسد قال

Note :—Daulatshāh attributes this *qiṭ'a* to Sulṭān Sanjar, and quotes only three verses with slight variations (pp. 34-5).

[1] Daulatshāh, p. 19.

صواب کرد که پیدا نکرد هر دو جهاں یگانه ایزدِ دا دار بے نظیر و همال
وگر نه هر دو ببخشیدے او بروزِ عطا امیدِ بندهٔ نماندے با یزدِ متعال

The *qaṣīdah* written by Farrukhī, mourning Maḥmūd's loss to the Empire and its capital city, Ghaznī, is most remarkable in the history of Persian elegiac composition. Some lines are reproduced as follows:

Farrukhī's elegiac poem on Maḥmūd's death.

[1]شهرِ غزنیں نه همانست که من دیدم پار
چه فتاد ست که امروز دگرگوں شد کار
کوچها بینم پر شورش و سر تا سرِ کوی
همه پر جوشن و جوشن درو پر خیل و سوار
مهتراں بینم بر روی زناں همچو زناں
چشمها کرده ز خوں تا به برنگِ گلنار
ملکِ اِمسال د گر باز نیامد ز غزا
دشمنے روی نهادست دریں شهر و دیار
سیر مَی‌خورده مگر دی که بخفته است امروز
دیر تر خاست مگر رنج رسیدش ز خمار
خیز شاها که رسولانِ شهاں آمده اند
هدیه ها دارند آورده فراوان و نثار
که تواند که بر انگیزد ازیں خواب ترا
خفتنی خفتنی کز خراب نگردی بیدار

[1] Dīwān i Farrukhī.

به حصار از فزع و بیم تو رفتند شهان
تو شها از فزع و بیم که رفتی به حصار
شعرا را به تو بازار بر افروخته بود
رفتی و با تو بیکباره برفت آن بازار

Sultān's love for Ayāz.

The Sultān's love for Ayāz, his favourite Turkomān slave, who was known by the title of *Abun Najm*, is a mysterious fact of history. The poet Farrukhī in a *qasīdah* describes Ayāz as a man of no great personal beauty or charm, remarking that the Sultān's regard for him was more for his devotional service and refined manners than for his physical attraction. Nizami 'Arūzī Samarqandī also writes to the same effect as follows:—

[1]عشقی که سلطان یمین الدوله محمود را بر ایاز ترک بوده است معروف است و مشهور – آورده اند که سخت نیکو صورت نبود لیکن سبز چهرهٔ شیرین بوده است متناسب اعضاء و خوش حرکات و خرد مند و آهسته و آداب مخلوق پرستی اورا عظیم دست داده بوده است و دران باره از نادرات زمانهٔ خویش بوده است – و این همه اوصاف آن است که عشق را بعث کند و دوستی را برقرار دارد و سلطان یمین الدوله محمود مردے دیندار و متقی بود با عشق ایاز بسیار کشتی گرفتے تا از شارع شرع و منهاج حریت قدمے عدول نه کرد –

The love which Sultān Yamīnuddaulah Mahmūd

[1] Chahār Maqālah, pp. 43-46.

bore towards his slave, Ayāz, is commonly known and famous. It is related that he was not very handsome in appearance, but had a tender and sweet countenance, symmetrical body and pleasing manners; and was intelligent, mild and gifted with a magnificent share of creature-worship. And in this virtue, he was a rare example in his day. And all these virtues are such as beget love, and make friendship stable. And Sulṯān Maẖmūd was a God-fearing and pious man, and struggled hard with his love for Ayāz, with the result that he did not go one step beyond the path of religion and the way of chivalry.

This simple affair, being extraordinary in its character as subsisting between a mighty monarch like Maẖmūd and his slave, soon caught the imagination of the contemporary poets who wrote on the subject with poetical fulness, until it became a real romance in history and a permanent topic of interest for all succeeding poets seeking for a popular theme for their metrical compositions.

His scholarly disposition and love for letters.

Maẖmūd's scholarly disposition and love for letters are too well known in history. The Royal Museum and the Academy that he had founded at Ghaznī are counted among the rarities of the period and speak for themselves. The latter possessed a

large and valuable collection of books on Arabian, Greek and Indian sciences and arts. Whenever a city was sacked or conquered, its libraries were left intact under special orders of Maḫmūd, and removed to the Capital city under escort to enrich the Royal Academy.[1] Again, his love for the society of scholars and poets is clear from the fact that he had invited the most eminent of them from all parts of the Empire and other independent Central Asian States to come to his court. Al Bīrūnī, the famous scientist, was one of them. Also, it is said as many as *four hundred* poets travelled with him to every corner of the empire on whom he spent *eighty lacs* of rupees yearly in the shape of fixed allowances.[2] In addition to this, he had settled permanent *jāgīrs* on the Qāẓīs, Imāms, Traditionalists and poets, and built numerous colleges and hostels for the education and residence of scholars. His sporadic rewards to the poets and the learned amounted to several *lacs* annually, which he paid from his private purse. As a scholar he is the author of a standard work entitled *Tafrīd ul Furū‘* (تفريدالفروع) on Muslim Jurisprudence. Another book he wrote on صِلات (giving rewards) in praise of which the famous poet ‘Asjadī observed:—

بر دادن صِلات کتابے بکرد شاہ چونانکہ بو حنیفہ کتابِ صلوٰة کرد

[1] Ibn ul Aṣīr, Vol. IX, p. 262.
[2] Taẕkira i Salāṭīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 43.

On giving rewards the Shāh wrote a book,
Just as Imām Abū Ḫanīfah did write one on Prayer.

In short, Maḫmūd is a most conspicuous figure among the eastern monarchs who patronized and loved Persian art and culture. His greatest service is that he advanced the claim of Persian literature in India to rank as a national literature.

Section II—Literary taste in the Age of Mahmūd's successors

The poetic taste and patronage of Mahmūd's descendants; and the famous poets of their Courts.

Mahmūd's poetic taste, which came up to the standard of Persian taste, continued among his descendants as well, who, after his death, succeeded to the throne of Hindūstān. This may be seen in the elegy which his son, Sultān Muhammad, wrote on his father's death. In form and matter it is perfect and represents all the essentials of elegiac poetry. The opening lines are as follows:—

[1] ای حالِ دلِ خسته مشوش بے تو   عیشِ خوشِ من شدست ناخوش بے تو
تو رفته و آمده مرا بے تو جاں   تو در تهِ خاک و من در آتش بے تو

Among his successors, the reign of his grandson, Sultān Zahīruddīn Ibrāhim bin Mas'ūd, was conspicuous in history, since he had Abul Faraj Rūnī as his court-poet, who had no equal in Khurāsān, whom contemporary Persia recognised as the leading poet of the day. Zahīruddīn's ministers also were scholars of renown, like Abū Sahl Khujandī, Khwājah Mas'ūd Chachī and 'Abdul Hamīd Ahmad. The last-named was a great administrator and a poet besides, in whose praise Abul Faraj Rūnī wrote a *qasīdah* of which the opening line runs thus:—

[1] Bayāz i Mīrzā Asad Bēg, Mss., fol. 67a.

[1] ترتیبِ ملک و قاعدهٔ جود و رسم داد   عبدالحمید احمدِ عبدالصمد نهاد

The famous poet Abul Faraj Rūnī was an Indian.

Abul Faraj Rūnī's birth-place was a small town named *Rūn* or *Rūyan* in the neighbourhood of Lāhore, of which mention is made in the biographical works and in Persian dictionaries. Mullā 'Abdu'l Rashīd Tattawī writes thus:—

[1] رون بالضم در فرهنگ نام قصبه ایست در هند که مولدِ ابوالفرج است –

Rūn with the vowel sign (ـُ) in Persian lexicon is the name of a town in India, which was the birthplace of Abul Faraj.

'Aufī says:—

[2] ابوالفرج بن مسعودالرونی' مولد و منشاء او خطهٔ لوهور بود –

Abul Faraj bin Mas'ūd of Rūn:—His place of birth and where he grew up was the district of Lāhore.

Badāūnī remarks:—

[3] استاد ابوالفرج رونی هم مداحِ سلطان ابراهیم بود و هم مداحِ سلطان مسعود و قصائد بسیار بنامِ ایشان در دیوانِ اوست و روین نامِ دیهی است از توابعِ لاهور و دریں روزگار گویا خراب است که اثرے از وی باقی نمانده است –

[1] Farhang i Rashīdī.
[2] Lubāb, vol. II, p. 241.
[3] Muntakhab, vol, I, p. 37.

> Ustād Abul Faraj Rūyanī was the eulogiser of Sulṯān Ibrāhīm as well as of Sulṯān Mas'ūd. And he has many a *qaṣīdah* in his *dīwān* in their praise; and *Rūyan* is the name of a village within the jurisdiction of Lāhore, and in this age, so to say, it is in ruins, so that no trace of it survives.

The same view is held by Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, author of the *Haft Iqlīm*, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Qazvīnī, a modern Persian writer.

As against these, the Persian biographers unhesitatingly declared that Abul Faraj was a Persian, just as they did in the case of Mas'ūd, obviously to save Persia from the ignominy of accepting an Indian as the leading figure in his day in the art of Persian composition. Their resentment was, perhaps, further aggravated when some responsible critics and judges of Persian poetry thought that Anwarī, the renowned poet of Persia, imitated Abul Faraj's style and trend of thought.

The views of the Persian writers with regard to Abul Faraj's nativity are as follows. Thus writes Riẓā Qulī Khān Hidāyet:—

[1]سخنگوئیست شیریں زبان و فصیحی نیکو بیان اصلش از رونه و آں نام قریه ایست از نشاپور.... چندی ابوالفرج در لاهور زیسته باز برکاب سلطان پیوست لهذا برخی اورا لاهوری دانند –

[1] Majma'ul Fuṣaḥā, vol. I, p. 70.

> He is a poet with sweet tongue and great eloquence. His origin is from Rūnah, and this is the name of a village in Nīshāpūr. For sometime Abul Faraj lived in Lāhore, but went back to wait on the stirrups of the Sulṯān. Consequently some people know him as belonging to Lāhore.

Luṯf'Alī Bēg Āẕar says:—

[1] ابوالفرج از شعرای جلیل‌الشان و از فصحای عذب‌البیان است و اکثر شعرا باستادیِ او اعتراف...کرده اند...اصلِ وی از قصبهٔ رونه مِن محالِ دشتِ خاوران است -

> Abul Faraj is from among the poets of high rank and the most eloquent of them. Many poets have acknowledged him to be a master. His origin is from the village Rūnah which is situated in the district of the desert of Khāwarān.

The same view is held by Ḫamdullah Mustaufī, author of the Tārīkh i Guzīdah, and other responsible writers. The truth of the matter is that in Abul Faraj of the Punjāb we have a genius who gave a fresh turn to Persian poetry as he found it. The great masters of Persia and India have recognised Abul Faraj's imaginative power and style. Mas'ūd Sa'd

[1] Ātashkadah, p. 137.

Salmān, Anwarī, Faiẓī, 'Urfī, Masīḥ Ruknā i Kāshī, Sā'ib and Ṯālib Āmulī, not only mention his name in their works with respect, but even imitate him in their *qaṣā'id*. Mas'ūd addresses him in a *qaṣīdah* as his *master* with a high sense of pride. The chief line is quoted below:—

[1] نازم بدانکه هستم شاگردِ تو   شادم بدانکه هستی استادِ من

I pride myself on this that I am thy pupil,
I am happy over it that thou art my master.

This points further to the fact that Abul Faraj was a predecessor of Mas'ūd.

Anwarī declares his passionate love for Abul Faraj's poetry in the following complimentary verse:—

[2] باد معلومش که من بندهٔ بشعرِ بوالفرج   تا بدیدستم ولوعی داشتستم بس تمام

He may know that I am a slave to his poetry,
Since I saw it I became all the more avid of it.

Again, he compares Abul Faraj with Farrukhī, one of the few bright gems of Sulṯān Maḥmūd's court:—

[3] در عذوبت نظمِ اقبالت چو نظمِ فرخی -

In sweetness thy fortunate poetry is like that of Farrukhī.

[1] Dīwān i Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān.
[2] Dīwān i Ustād Abul Faraj Rūnī.
[3] Ibid.

He further declares his resolve to imitate Abul Faraj's poetry, and compares it with a bird which it is not easy to ensnare:—

[1] عزم دارم کاں بروزے چند بنویسم که نیست
شعرِ او مرغے که آساں اندروں افتد بدام

Faiẓī also acknowledges him as his superior and guide, as is evident from the following verse:—

[2] ذوقے که تواں گرفت از شعر   از شعرِ ابوالفرج گرفتم

The taste (benefit) that could be derived from
poetry,
I drew from that of Abul Faraj.

Faiẓī, as is well known, occupies such an important place among the poets of Akbar's time that even the best poets of contemporary Persia have seen in him a master mind. 'Urfī too, who looked upon himself as the greatest poet of the day, recognises in a *qaṣīdah*, which he wrote in praise of the *Khān i Khānān*, his indebtedness to Abul Faraj and Anwarī,[3] boastfully declaring them to be the pioneers in that field, and himself only a follower of their style and metre. The significant lines are as follows:—

[1] Ibid.

[2] A. History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court, vol. III, p. 63.

[3] It is to be noted that Anwarī himself followed Abul Faraj, and was proud of it.

[1] انصاف بده بوالفرج و انوری امروز بهرِ چه غنیمت نشمارند عدم را
بسم‌الله ز اعجازِ نفس جاں دهِ شاں باز تا من قلم اندازم و گیرند قلم را
اول رهِ این نظمَ خود ایشاں بسپر دند پس باز نمود یم بهم منزلِ هم را

Give justice, Abul Faraj and Anwarī today,
Why should they not be content with their non-existence?
In the name of God, bring them to life once more by thy miraculous breath,
So that I may lay down the pen, and they may take it up again;
The path of this poetry was first traversed by them,
Thereafter we all trod in the same path.

This is indeed a great tribute which ʻUrfī paid to the memory of Abul Faraj. The famous poet Ẕakī of Kāshghar also recognised Abul Faraj's greatness, since Taqī Auḫadī records that Ẕakī sent to Abul Faraj, through a special messenger, the following laudatory verse in appreciation of his poetical powers, styling him as *S̱āḫeb Qirān* (Lord of the two Ages) of Persian poetry:—

صاحبقرانِ عالم کافی توئی که هست گلزار وار خلد نمودار شعرِ تو

Thou art the *S̱āḫeb Qirān* of the world: thy presence is enough, since it is a fact

[1] Dīwān i ʻUrfī.

That thy verses appear like the garden of Paradise.

To this an appropriate reply was given by Abul Faraj in the form of a *qiṯ‘a*, beginning with the following verse:

سلطانِ نظم و نثر ذکی آنکه در جهان داد سخن بدان بمعیار شعرِ خویش

The king of poetry and prose, Ẕakī, who, in the world,
Did justice to poetical composition by his efficient verses.

Abul Faraj's poetical virtues have evoked the greatest admiration from the leading poets of Persia. Anwarī, himself one of the *three* acknowledged apostles of Persian poetry and a creator of new forms of style, not only appreciated Abul Faraj's composition, but also imitated it in subject, thought and style. So greatly fond of Abul Faraj's poetry was Anwarī that he always kept his predecessor's *dīwān* with himself to serve as a guide and model for his own compositions.[1] Again, Āẕar and Riẕa Qulī

[1] Cf:—

و انوری پیوسته تتبع سخن او کردے و دیوانِ او همواره در نظر داشتے و دران قصیده که گفته است مطلع :-

ویحک ای صورتِ منصور نه باغے نه سرای بل بهشتے که بدنیات فرستاد خدای -

یک بیت تمام بعینه از شعرِ ابوالفرج بیا ورده است بے تضمین - اگر توارد

Khān Hidāyet, the well-known biographical writers of later Persia, pay Abul Faraj a glowing tribute, recognising him as a great master of the art and a peer of the most gifted and eloquent poets of Persia and mistake him for a Persian. This point is worthy of special notice, since the learned critics, whose apathy for poets of Indian origin is well-known, see in Abul Faraj a classical poet, and fully corroborate 'Aufī's statement that Anwarī, the leading *qaṣīda*-writer of Persia followed Abul Faraj's style and trend of thought[1]. This fact alone is a refutation of the

خاطر ست بغایت نادر ست و دراں قطعه که گفته است قطعه -

اندراں مجلس که من داعی بشعرِ بوالفرج

تا شنید ستم و لوعی داشتستم بس تمام -

دلیل است که او پیوسته در بوستانِ دیوانِ ابوالفرج تفرج کرده -

(Lubāb, Vol. II, p. 241)

NOTE:—The first hemistich of the opening verse of the "qaṣīdah", quoted in the above extract, has a typographical error. The correct reading is as follows:—

ویحک ای صورتِ منصوریه باغے و سرای

[1] Cf:— و شاهدِ استادیِ او همیں بس است که حکیم انوری متتبع طریقهٔ او بوده و گاهے تضمینِ مصارع اومی کرده -

(Ātashkadah, p. 137)

Also Cf. Riẓā Qulī Khān Hidāyat:—

در شاعری الحق طرزِ خوشے دارد حکیم انوری متتبعِ طرزِ اوست -

(Majma'ul Fuṣaḥā, vol. I, p. 70)

views held by some Western critics that the Indians writing in Persian, in spite of their linguistic attainments, could not equal Persian poets in imagination and style. Abul Faraj's poetry completely dispels this false notion. It is a matter of pride for India that Lāhore produced a poet whom Anwarī imitated. But there is nothing strange about it when we recollect how the entire territory from the Punjāb to Persia was one complete region dominated by Persian culture in the wake of the conquests of Maḫmūd. In fact, during the regime of the Ghaznavīds all local and geographical distinction between Ghaznī and Lāhore had disappeared. This continuity of cultural unity was not broken after the cessation of the Ghaznavīd rule, but remained intact till the end of the Mughal sovereignty in India. During this time the centre of Persian poetry and learning shifted *thrice* from Īrān to India, first, during the Ghaznavīd,[1] secondly, during the Khiljī[2] and thirdly, during the

[1] Cf. the royal courts of Ghaznī and Lāhore, which became the chief seats of Persian culture, where almost all the leading poets and scholars of Persia had assembled under the liberal patronage of Sultān Maḫmūd and his sons. The former is reputed to have had 400 select poets always in attendance on him during his stay and campaigns in India (*Daulatshāh*, p. 24). There were, thus, hardly any distinguished men of letters left behind who did not attend on the king.

[2] Cf:—

و در تمامیِ عصر علائی در دارالملکِ دهلی علمائے بودند که آنچنان استادان
که هر یکے علامهٔ وقت و در بخارا و در سمرقند و بغداد و مصر و خوارزم و

Mughal reign.[1] One of the main reasons why India

دمشق و تبریز و صفاهان و ری و روم و در ربع مسکون نباشند -

(Barnī, p. 352)

> And in the whole reign of 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī there were men of letters in the capital city of Delhi, every one of whom was a great exponent of learning and a perfect master of the age, the like of whom were not to be found in Bukhārā, Samarqand, Baghdād Egypt, Khwārazm, Damascus, Tabrīz, Isfahān, Rai, Rūm and the habitable quarter of the globe.

Also Cf:—

اگر مفتی طمطراق اوستادی بر سر کرده از خراسان و ماوراءالنهر و خوارزم و یا از شهرے دیگر در دهلی برسیدے و کمالاتِ علوم بزرگان مذکور را مشاهده کردے سبق درست گرفتے و به تلمذ پیش ایشان بزانوی ادب در آمدے -

(Ibid, pp. 354-55)

> If any learned scholar with the pride of mastery in his head reached Delhi from Khurāsān, Trans-Caspian Province, Khwārazm or from any other city, and witnessed the perfections of learning of these great Doctors, he would take lessons from them, and bend his knee in reverence before them as their pupil.

This age may also boast of having poets like Khawājah Hasan of Delhi and, particularly, Amīr Khusrau who had no equal in Persia in his day in the realm of Persian poetical composition. Barnī says that a perfect master of both prose and poetry, like Khusrau, never appeared before, nor is expected to appear in future. Cf. his statement:—

و هم در عصر علائی شعرائے بودند که بعد از ایشان بلکه پیش از ایشان چشم روزگار مثل ایشان ندیده است لا سیما امیر خسرو که خسرو شاعران

could equal Persia in the early and the middle ages of

سلف و خلف بوده است و......نظیر خود نداشت و...در سلف نبود و
در خلف تا قیامت پیدا آید یا نیاید –

(Ibid, p. 359)

[1] Cf. the statement of Sā'ib, who was appointed *poet-laureate* of Persia after his retirement from the service of Shāhjahān in India, that he considered the Indian poetical atmosphere definitely superior to that of Persia in the following clear and unmistakable language:—

نیست در ایران زمین سامانِ تحصیل کمال
تا نیامد سوی هندوستان حِنا رنگین نشد

There is not in the Persian land the requisite material for perfection in the poetic art,
Until *henā* (myrtle) came to India, it acquired no colour.

Also Cf. Kauṣarī, the court-poet of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, complaining of the dearth of real poetic appreciation in Persia, as compared with its more fortunate rival India which, he says, has become the asylum of Persian poetry in his day:—

شکایتِ کم توجهی اهلِ ایران باربابِ معانی

دریں کشور خریدار سخن نیست — کسے سر گرم بازار سخن نیست
نباشد از اکابر تا اراذل — کسے را دل بسوی شعر مائل
ببیں کز بے خریداری دریں دور — چگونه شد بر اربابِ سخن جور
در ایران تلخ گشته کام جانم — بباید شد سوے هندوستانم
بر آنم کو ثری ابیاتِ خود را — شده نازل ز عرش آیاتِ خود را
که نبود در سخن دانانِ دوران — خریدار سخن جز خانخانان
سخن را قدر و مقدارے نمانده — معانی را خریدارے نمانده

Islāmic history is that hundreds of thousands of

زبس باشد سخن بے قدر و مقدار　　بود امروز شعر و شاعری عار
که در ایراں کسے ناید پدیدار　　که باشد جنس معني را خریدار
همه طوطی مذاقانِ شکر خا　　بملکِ هند ازاں کردند ماوا
چو قطرہ جانبِ عماں فرستم　　متاع خود بهندستاں فرستم
سخن را نیست جز او نکته سنجے　　جهاں را همچو او آمادہ گنجے
بعالم هیچکس ز اهلِ هنر نیست　　که از دستِ سخایش بهرہ‌ور نیست

(B. M. Mss., Or. 342, fol. 11a)

Complaint against the inattention of the people of Īrān towards the Possessors of meaning (poets):—
In this dominion there is no purchaser of speech,
No one is eagerly busy in the mart of speech;
To speech value and weight remained not,
Nor for meaning any customer remained;
From the greatest to the humblest, there is not
Any one whose heart is inclined to verse;
So valueless and insignificant has speech become,
That today poetry and the profession of a poet are in disgrace;
See that owing to want of a mart in this age,
What tyranny was practised on the possessors of speech!
In Persia no one appears
Who is a customer of the commodity of meaning;
In Persia the palate of my soul has become bitter,
Now ought I to go towards Hindūstān;
All the sugar-eating parrots
Have for this reason made their abode in India;
Kauṣarī, I am now determined that my verses,
Which are signs descended from the *ninth heaven*,
Like a drop towards the ocean I should send,
I should send my commodity to India;
That there is not among the learned of the age,
A customer of speech except the *Khān i Khānān*;
For discourse there is not a weigher of subtle points ex-

Persian families had come down to India in the pre-Islāmic era and settled in the land of the Punjāb. Thus long before the invasion of Maḫmūd, a cultural connection with linguistic affinity between India and Persia had been established with the result that the Punjāb assimilated the Persian speech and taste for poetry. A reference to this Persian emigration is to be found in Fażluddīn Hiravī's statement, of which the source is the early 'Arab historian Shihābuddīn Yā qūtu'r Rūmī, that a big city near Lāhore was founded by the Persian exiles from Khurāsān during the reign of Afrāsiyāb.[1] It is mentioned by the author of the *Ṯabaqāt i Akbarī* and also by *Badāūnī* in connection with their accounts of the Ghaznavīd king Ibrāhīm. It is recorded that the last-named once caused to be sent a hundred thousand Persians from this great city of the Punjāb to his capital Ghaznī,

cept he,
For the world there is none like him a ready treasure;
In the Universe there is none from among the possessors of art
Who is not profited by his bountiful hand.

[1] Cf:—

و در اطرافِ لوهور آبادانی ست قدیم که مردمانش همه از اهلِ خراسان اند و فاضل علامه شهاب‌الدین ابو عبدالله یاقوت‌الرومی در معجم اشارت بآن کرده که آنان در عهدِ افراسیاب گریخته در هند اقامت گزیدند —

(Taẓkira i Salāṯīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 37)

to add to the latter's population and splendour.[1] The cultural value of this great Persian influx into India and the benefit that accrued from the long contact of Persian civilization in the sphere of her educational and linguistic effort is immense. It influenced and completely transformed the literary taste of her people so that there arose in succession in the Punjāb poets whose composition received tributes from Persia, and equalled those of the best Persian masters of art in all the requisite features. Abul Faraj left several works of which those extant are a treatise on Persian prosody, and a voluminous *dīwān* which he dedicated to his patron Sulṯān Ibrāhīm. The dedication begins with the verse:—

سپہر دولت و دیں آفتابِ هفت اقلیم ابوالمظفر شاهِ مظفر ابراهیم

The sky of worldly fortune and religion, the
sun of the seven regions,
Abul Muẕaffar, the victorious king Ibrāhīm.

His *dīwān* consists of *qasīdah*, *qiṯ'a*, *ghazal*, *rubā'ī* and *hajv*, and was printed in Persia at the International Trading Socialist Press, in 1345 A. H.

[1] Cf:—

و از یک شهرے که اهلِ آں از نسلِ خراسانیاں بودند و آخر (افراسیاب) ایشاں را اخراج کرده و در هند آباداں شده بودند صد هزار کس را اسیر ساخته به غزنیں برد

(Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 35)

In a *qiṯʻa*, he called Masʻud Saʻd Salmān the *Keeper of the mansion of poetry*. The chief line, which is also the last line, runs thus:—

[1] تا جهان است او نگهبان باد　　　این بنا را که او نگهبان است

Till as long as the world exists, may he remain the guardian
Of the structure of which he is already the guardian.

Some of his *qaṣā'id* in praise of the royal house are magnificent, and have been imitated by, besides Anwarī, the leading poets of Persian language, like Ẕahīr Fāryābī, Salmān Sāwajī, ʻUrfī Shīrāzī and others. His *ghazals* are melodious and sweet, and his *rubāʻiyāt* chaste and attractive. About twenty years after Ibrāhīm's death, Muʻizzudīn Bahrām Shāh, aided by Sulṯān Saʻīd Sanjar of Khurāsān, wrested the crown from his cousin, Malik Arsalān, in 511 A. H. He was a great patron of learning and a cherisher of art, and his reign was a period of development for Persian

[1] Dīwān i Abul Faraj Rūnī, p. 125.

NOTE :—In acknowledgement to this, Masʻūd wrote an appropriate rejoinder, which is to be found in his *dīwān*. The first line is reproduced as follows:—

خاطر خواجه بوالفرج بدرست　　　گوهر نثر و نظم را کان ست

The intellect of Khwājah Abul Faraj has rightly
Become a mine of the rubies of prose and poetry.

poetry. On his accession to the throne at Ghaznī, Sayyid Ḥasan, a learned divine and a preacher by profession, who is better known as a Ṣūfī than as a poet,[1] read a congratulatory *qaṣidah* in his praise, of

[1] Cf:—

سید حسن بعلوِ نسب و سموِ حسب موصوف و بمکارمِ اخلاق و محاسنِ
اوصاف معروف و در محافلِ فصاحت و بلاغت قدوۂ عرفا و زبدۂ ظرفا و در
زهد و تقوی سر آمدِ روزگار و در ارشادِ خلائق سرِ حلقۂ احرار بوده – گویند
در غزنیں روزے در مجلسِ وعظِ ایشاں قریب بهفتاد هزار کس در پای منبر
جمع آمدند و چهار هزار از ایشاں بشرفِ ارادت اختصاص داشتند ایں خبر
را بسلطان بهرام شاه رسا نیدند یکے از ند مای خاص را دو شمشیر برهنه
و یک غلاف داده بخدمتِ سید فرستاد که در غلاف کن سید مطلب را در
یافته هم دراں زودی از غزنیں عزیمتِ حرمین شریفین کرده –

(Ātashkadah, p. 107)

Sayyid Ḥasan was gifted with high lineage and lofty personal qualities, and was known for high morals and praise-worthy habits. And he was the leader of the possessors of the knowledge of God in the assemblies of eloquence and rhetoric, and was the head of those endowed with wit. And in piety and abstinence he was the pioneer of his age, and in guiding the public he was the central point of the ring of the free people. It is said that one day in Ghaznīn about 70,000 people gathered together at the foot of the pulpit, to listen to his sermon, of whom 4,000 became his disciples. This news was carried to the Sultān who sent one of his chief courtiers with *two* naked swords and *one* sheath to the Sayyid, with the message that he should put the two swords together in that sheath. The Sayyid, having understood its significance, soon resolved to go from Ghaznīn to the holy places (Mecca and Medīna).

which the opening verse proclaims his coronation

While so much is said about his lineage, piety and sermon, his poetic talent is judged in one simple phrase as follows :

و الحق در فنِ نظم کمال مهارت داشته

And verily he had perfect practice in the art of versification.

Also Cf. Daulatshāh:—

سید اشرف حسن الحسینی رحمة اللّٰه بزرگوار فاضل و دانشمند و اهلِ دل بوده و قصیدهٔ نخریه را می گوید و شعرا بعضے جوابِ آں گفته اند مثلَ مجیر بیلقانی و کمال الدین اسمٰعیل و شیخ آذری نیز گفته اما قبل از سیدَ حسن کسے مثلِ ایں قصیده نگفته است :-

داند جهاں که قرة عینِ پیمبرام شایسته میوهٔ دلِ زهرا و حیدرام

(p. 50)

Sayyid Ashraf Hasan al-Husainī was a learned sage and a wise and spiritual man. He has composed a *qasīdah* in self-praise, and some poets like Mujīr Bīlqānī, Kāmāluddīn Ismā'īl and Shaikh Āzarī have written rejoinders to it. Nevertheless, before Sayyid Hasan, none else wrote a *qasīdah* like that:—

The world knows that I am the comfort of the eye of the Prophet,
I am a worthy fruit of the heart of *Zahrā* and *Hydar*.

In this connection Daulatshāh, on the authority of the *Tārīkh i Guzīdah* of Hamdullāh Mustaufī, refers to another poem of Hasan in praise of the Holy Prophet, in which the poet asked for a *Khil'at* which, it is asserted, was bestowed upon him in a concrete shape. Cf. the statement:—

و چوں بزیارتِ مرقدِ مطهرِ حضرتِ سیدالمرسلین رسید ترجیع گفت و التماس خلعت کرد :-

thus :—

منادی[1] بر آمد ز هفت آسمان　　که بهرام شاهست شاهِ جهان

یا رب این مائیم و این درگاهِ صدرِ انتساب
یا رب این مائیم و این خاکِ جنابِ مصطفیٰ است

سلّموا یا قوم بل صلّوا علی صدر الامین　　مصطفیٰ ما جاء الّا رحمةً للعالمین

و در حسن الطلب این بیت فرموده :-

لافِ فرزندی نیارم زد ولے در حضرتت　　مدحتے آوردم اینک خلعتے بیرون فرست

خواجه حمد الله مستوفی در تاریخِ گزیده می آورد که خلعت از روضهٔ حضرتِ رسالت جهةِ سیّد بیرون آمد و بر صحتِ آن اطنابے می کند –

(Ibid)

The alleged view of the appearance of the *Khil'at* from the tomb of the Holy Prophet is a fantastic one, unless by the *Khil'at* is meant 'inward bliss' or 'consolation' which the poet felt on the completion and presentation of the said poem. His poetry consists chiefly of رباعیات – قصائد and قطعات, and is limited in its character, scope and bulk. He has to his credit a small *dīwān* containing about 5,000 verses all told. Cf. the statement:

دیوانش پنجهزار بیت است

(Majma'ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 192)

He does not seem to have attempted غزل and مثنوی, of which no specimen verses are preserved in any of the biographical works under reference. Some of his قصائد رباعیات and قطعات, in praise of Bahrām Shāh, Prince Khusrau, Abū Muhammad Tāhir (Prime Minister) and Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī, are quoted in full in the Lubāb (vol. II, pp. 270-6), the Majmū'a i Tazkār (pp. 89—92) and the Majma'ul Fusahā (vol. I, pp. 192-6).

[1] Tabaqāt, p. 24.

A loud call came from the *seven skies*
That Bahrāmshāh is the Emperor of the world.

Again, he composed another *qaṣīdah* when he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and sent it to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm at Lāhore, in which he expressed his keenest desire to be in India at the Sulṭān's court. The lines of the poem bearing on the point are quoted below:—

خرم بود که باز ببینم لقای شاه   شکرانه درد و دیده کشم خاکِ پای شاه
بهرام شه که جانِ سلاطین نثار باد   بلشد که جانِ ایشان باشد فدای شاه
تا هند و پارس خطّهٔ اورا مسلم است   آیم به بومِ هَند و بیارم ثنای شاه

How happy would I be to see again the face of the king.
In thankfulness I would apply the collyrium of the dust of his feet to both my eyes;
May the lives of many a king be sacrificed for the king Bahrām,
May be that their lives serve as an offering to his person;
Since the whole tract from India to Persia is under his sway,
I come to the soil of India, and bring with me a gift of his praise.

The well-known Sanskrit story, the *Kalīlah-Damnah*, was again translated into Persian from the Arabic version of 'Abdullāh Ibn ul Muqaffa' by the

order of the king,[1] and became very popular in Persia.[2] Among the most notable poets of this period are Hakīm Sanā'ī, Mukhtārī and Mīnūchehrī.

Hakīm Sanā'ī.

Sanā'ī, besides being a poet, was also a philosopher and a great Sūfī. Anwarī and Khāqānī revered him; even Rūmī, the greatest mystic poet of Persia, refers to him in these terms :

نیم جوش کرده ام من نیم خام   از حکیم غزنوی بشنو تمام

I, the half-ripe, have got a half-boil,
From the sage of Ghaznī listen to what is perfectly ripe.

عطار روی بود سنائی دو چشم او   ما از پئ سنائی و عطار آمدیم

'Attār was a face, and Sanā'ī its two eyes,
I came in the wake of Sanā'ī and 'Attār.

[1] Cf:—

سلطان بهرام شاه بن مسعود بن ابراهیم پادشاه شد و حکیم سنائی مداح او بود و کلیله دمنه و کتب بسیار در زمان او تصنیف شد –

(Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 39)

[2] This book was first translated into Pahlavī from the original Sanskrit text in the time of Naushīrwān the Great, but it did not gain much popularity, and was forgotten soon after its production. From this old Persian version a translation was later made into Arabic by 'Abdullāh Ibn ul Muqaffa', which survived, and from which subsequent Persian translations were made in the time of Sultān Nasr bin Ahmad Sāmāni, Bahrāmshāh Ghaznavī and Sultān Husain Mīrzā of Herāt.

In his early career, Sanā'ī used to write odes in honour of the Ghaznavīd kings, but he later gave up this kind of versification, and devoted his life to religious meditation and mystical writings.[1] His famous *maṣnawī*, *Ḫadīqat ul Ḫaqīqat*, popularly called *Ḫadīqah*, was written in Ibrāhīm's time and dedicated to him. The year of its completion in 525 A. H. is indicated by the concluding lines quoted below:—

شد تمام این کتاب در مهِ دی   که در آذر فکند او را پیَ
پانصد و بیست و چار رفته ز عام   پانصد و ببست و پنج گشته تمام

It is a masterly exposition of the Unity of Godhead and the fundamentals of mysticism.[2] It was this *maṣnawī* which led some of his opponents at the court to bring a case of heresy against him, but the decision of the divines of Baghdād, to whom the matter was finally referred, was in his favour, and he was acquitted of the charge. The letter which Sanā'ī wrote to Ibrāhīm on his acquittal is fortunately preserved and is reproduced here to give the reader some idea of Sanā'ī's prose style. It further throws

[1] How this change, took place is stated to be as follows:—

One day Sanāī overheard a mystic pitying Ibrāhīm's lust for conquest and Sanā'ī's habit of flattering him with laudatory poems in complete forgetfulness of God's retribution on the day of Judgment. This incident brought about the great moral transformation here referred to. For further details see Daulatshāh p. 96, (Ed. by Browne)

light on the art of letter-writing and the religious thought of the time:—

بسم اللّٰہ الرحمٰن الرحیم

الحمد للّٰہ رب‌العالمین والصلوٰۃ علی خیر خلقہ محمد و آلہ و اصحابہ اجمعین – اما بعد در آثار است کہ دو چیز در عمر افزاید و سبب باریدن باران و رستن درختان بود یکے نصرت مظلومان و دیگر قہر ظالمان و حجتے کہ بریں گفتہ اند آنست کہ پیغمبر صلی اللّٰہ علیہ وسلم فرمود کہ بالعدل قامت السمٰوات – عدل تمثال مرغیست کہ ہر کجا سایہ افکند آنجا توسعۂ دولت شود و آنجا کہ خانہ سازد قہلۂ استدامت شود و باران از آسمان بایستد و ظلم مرغیست کہ ہر کجا بپرد قحط سال شود و حیات و حیا از میان خلق معدوم شود و حق سبحانہ و تعالی سلطان اسلام و پادشاہ عادل بہرام شاہ بن مسعود شاہ بن ابراہیم شاہ بن مسعود شاہ بن محمود شاہ را از ظلم و جور نگاہدارد و اگرچہ ہمہ عالم جمع شوند تا بضاعت و مایۂ شناخت دل ایں بندہ نویسند و بعبارت برند نتوانند و درختی کہ مالک الملک آنرا نشاندہ در مشاہدۂ اسرار غیب جبرئیل و میکائیل کہ از تصرف کردن دراں معزول بودند یقین است کہ در کل احوال عادل سعید است و جابر شقی و بدترین ظالمے آنست کہ جماعتے اندک چیزے بخوانند و فہم نکنند و دراں مغرور شوند و زبان طعن در حق عالمان نہند از نیجاست کہ پیغمبر ما صلی اللّٰہ علیہ وسلم فرمود ارحموا ثلثا غنیا افتقر و عزیز قوم ذل و عالما بین الجہال ـ کتابے کہ بزبان اہل معرفت گفتہ بود عارف بینا دل باید چنانکہ بایزید و شبلی کہ دراں کتاب تصرف کنند و بدانند کہ دراں چہ نوشتہ اما دانشمندانے کہ بوی معرفت ندارند از سر حقد و نادانی بود کہ دراں کتاب طعنے زنند و دلیل برکور دلی ایشان آنست کہ می گویند آں

مروان را نکو هیده است و خاندان مصطفیٰ را صلی اللّٰه علیه وسلم ستایش از حد برده و تفضیل امیرالمومنین علی کرم اللّٰه و جه بر دیگر صحابه رضی اللّٰه عنهم نهاده است و آں نمی بینند که اورا فرود صدیق و فارق و ذی النورین مرتبه نهاده است بر طریقِ سلف و خلفِ صالح و از سیدِ کائنات محمد مصطفیٰ صلی اللّٰه علیه وسلم اخبار صحیح مرویست در مثالب آل مروان و مناقبِ آلِ محمد مصطفیٰ صلی اللّٰه علیه وسلم اگر دروغ است و کافة الناس بر این اند عقل داند که چنین است – و کلمهٔ حق آنست که بار خدایا آراسته گرداں عالم را بعالمانے که از تو بترسند یا از خلق شرم دارند و ما را مبتلای بیگانگانِ کوی قهرِ خود مگر داں بفضلک و جودک و کرمک یا ارحم الراحمین –

عرش گر بارگاه را زیبد　　شاه بهرام شاه را زیبد

Bahrām's patronage of letters is memorable in history[1] inasmuch as the foundation of philosophical and mystical poetry in Persian language was laid firmly in his time. Sanā'ī himself claimed that after the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadīs* it was his *Hadīqah* alone which

[1] Cf. Farishta's estimate of Bahrām's literary patronage and love of letters:—

او پادشاهے بود ذی شوکت و صاحبِ حشمت با علماء و فضلاء بسیار نشستے و صحبتِ ایشاں را دوست داشتے و هر کسے را بقدرِ علمش رعایت کردے لهذا فضلای آں روزگار به اسمِ شریفش کتب ساختهٔ اند و تصنیفات پرداخته –

dealt with the principles of mysticism.[1] This claim was accepted by the great mystics like 'Aṯṯār and Rūmī. Even Sa'dī's didactic writings pale before Sanā'ī's, because Sanā'ī combines beauty of description with criticism of life. Witness Sanā'ī's own assertion:—

کس نگفت این چنین سخن به جهان ور کسے گفت گو بیار و بخوان
چون ز قرآن گذشتی و اخبار نیست کس را بدین نمط گفتار[2]

No one composed such poetry in the world,
And if any one did, tell him to bring and recite it;
When you stepped beyond the Qur'ān and the Traditions,
In no one else you would find utterance like this.

Sanā'ī had a special gift for expressing mystical ideas in a beautiful and impressive language. Take, for instance, his ode on the *transitoriness of the world*, which was a common topic of the day, and had been tried by so many poets before his time too, but his

[1] This is to be noted that the first person who introduced the Sūfic ideas in Persian poetry was Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair. But his composition consists mainly of quatrains which do not expound the principles of Ṣūfīsm like the *Ḫadīqah* of Sanā'ī, but expatiate on *love* only. Thus they may be said to be the outpourings of a lover to his beloved, seeking union.

[2] Note: Rūmī's *Maṣnawī* is said to be the *Qur'ān* in the Persian language, and occupies the first rank; while Sanā'ī's *Ḫadīqah* is said to occupy a second rank, being placed after the Qur'ān and the *Hadīṣ*.

treatment of it has a peculiar charm and is, perhaps, the last word on the subject:—

مکن در جسم و جاں منزل کہ ایں دون است و آں والا
قدم زیں ہر دو بیروں نہ – نہ اینجا باش و نہ آنجا
بہر چہ از راہ باز افتی چہ کفر آں حرف چہ ایماں
بہر چہ از دوست و امانی چہ زشت آں نقش چہ زیبا

The concluding portion, which is very touching, is particularly noteworthy:—

نخواہم لا جرم نعمت نہ در دنیا نہ در جنت
ہمی گویم بہر ساعت چہ در ضرّا چہ در سرّا
کہ یا رب مرسنائی را سنائی دہ تو در حکمت
چناں کزوی برشک آید روانِ بو علی سینا
مگر داں عمرِ من چوں گل کہ در طفلی شوم کشتہ
مگر داں حرصِ من چوں مُل کہ در پیری شوم برنا
بہر چہ از اولیا گفتند ارزقنی و وقفنی
بہر چہ از انبیا گفتند آ منّا و صدّ قنا

Another *qaṣīdah* on spirituality, reproduced below, is a marvellous composition, a parallel to which would be hard to find:—

برگِ بے برگی نداری ۔لافِ درویشی مزن
رخ چو عیاراں میارا جاں چو نامرداں مکن
یا برو ہمچو زناں رنگے و بوئے پیش گیر
یا چو مرداں اندر آ و گوی در میداں فگن

هر چه یا بی جز هوا آں دیں بود در جاں بکار
هر چه بینی جز خدا آں بت بود در هم شکن

سر بر آر از گلشن تحقیق تا در کوی دین
کشتگاں زندہ بببنی انجمن در انجمن

در یکے صف کشتگاں بینی به تیغے چوں حسین
در دگر صف خستگاں بینی بزهرے چوں حسن

دردِدیں خود بوالعجب دردیست کاندروی چو شمع
چوں شوی بیمار بهتر گردی از گردن زدن

هر کسے از رنگ و رفتارے بایں رہ کے رسد
درد باید صبر سوز و مرد باید گام زن

قرنها باید که تا یک کود کے از لطفِ طبع
عاقلے کامل شود یا فاضلے صاحب سخن

سالها باید که تا یک سنگِ اصلی زآفتاب
لعل گردد در بدخشاں یا عقیق اندر یمن

ماہ ها باید که تا یک مشتِ پشم از پشتِ میش
صوفیِ را خرقه گردد یا حمارے را رسن

هفته ها باید که تا یک پنبه دانه ز آب و گل
شاهدے را حلّه گردد یا حمارے را رسن

روز ها باید کشیدن انتظار بے شمار
تاکه در جوفِ صدف باراں شود دُرِّ عدن

صدق و اخلاص و درستی باید و عمر دراز
تا قرین حق شود صاحبقرانے در قرن

با دو قبله در رہِ توحید نتواں رفت راست
یا رضای دوست باید یا هوای خویشتن

دی ز دلتنگی زمانے طوف کردم در چمن
یک جہاں جاں دیدم آنجا خستہ از زندانِ تن
من دراں صحرای خوش بادل همی گفتم چنیں
کاینت عقل افزای صحرا وینت جاں پرور وطن
باغ گفت از راہ دیدی ای سنائی چوں توئی
بر چنیں آواز و رنگ و بوی گردد مفتتن
شادباش ای مہتری کز بہرِ دفعِ چشمِ زخم
خرقہ در بازد فقیر و بت بسوزد برهمن

A very fine *qasīdah* in praise of the Holy Prophet runs as follows. It is remarkable for its originality and thought:—

ای سنائی گر همی از لطفِ حق جوئی سنا
عقل را قرباں کن اندر بارگاہِ مصطفا[3]

The bulk of his ethical poetry survives, and provides food for the Sūfīs.

His Hindī verses.

He was a resident of Ghaznī, yet to him there was no difference between Ghaznī and Lāhore. His long stay in Indian surroundings had influenced his thought and style, and he often gave vent to Indian ideas, and made use of Hindī words and expressions in his Persian compositions, as is evident from the following verses:—

لنگهنت گر ترا کند فربہ　　سیر خوردن ترا ز لنگهن بہ

نہ دراں معدہ خدرۂ میدہ　　نہ دراں دیدہ قطرۂ پانی

He has several works to his credit. Of those which have survived to us, the most important, besides the H̲adīqah, are his *maṣnawī Rumūz ul Anbiyā al-ma'rūf ba Kanz ul Auliyā* and a *dīwān*. The first-named consists of 280 and the second over 30,000 verses. The works *Siyar ul 'Ibād*, *Rumūz ul Aṣfiyā*, *T̲arīqat Nāmah* and the *Bahrām Nāmah*, whose names occur in the early records with their authorship assigned to him, have not been traced. His death took place in 547 A. H.[1]

[1]NOTE:—There is much difference of opinion as to the date of his death. T̲aqī Auh̲adī places it in 545 A. H., Daulatshāh and Āẓar in 576 A. H., and Jāmī in 525 A. H., which is the very year when the *H̲adīqah* was completed.

CHAPTER IV

THE GHŌRĪ AND THE SLAVE KINGS

India produced a good many poets and prose-writers during the reign of the Ghōrī and the Slave kings, besides those who came away in their youth from the cities of Persia and entered the service of the emperors of Hindūstān. The poets and the authors reviewed in these pages are primarily those whose writings have contributed to an advance of Persian poetry and prose. The first Ghōrī king of Hindūstān was Mu'izzuddīn Muḫammad bin Sām surnamed *Shihābuddīn* who, with the help of his brother Ghiyāṣuddīn, ruler of Ghōr, subdued the last Ghaznavīd king, Khusrau Malik, in 580 A. H., and occupied Lāhore two years later in 582 A. H. Shihābuddīn conquered the whole of the Punjāb, and held his court at Delhi.

The poets of Shihābuddīn's court: 1. Ruknuddīn Hamzah, the *poet-laureate*, and 2. Rashīd *Shihāb.*

A distinguished writer and poet of this period was Ruknuddīn Ḫamzah. He was the *poet-laureate* as well as the chief Secretary to Shihābuddīn's government. The letter which the king sent to Rājā Pithōrā of Ajmēr was drafted by him. Another figure Shihābuddīn *alias* Muhammad Rashīd, whose pen-name

was *Shihāb*, was born at Ghaznī but lived most of his life in India. He was a pupil of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, the famous Indian poet already cited. It is a pity that both his and Hamza's writings are not preserved in full; nevertheless, what is available gives one some idea of their respective powers of Persian composition and of their poetical talents. The remarks of the author of the *Tazkira i Salāṭīn i Āl i Ghaznīn* about these two poets are worthy of notice. He says:—

[1] ر رکن‌الدین حمزه را که از سر آمدِ موز و نان و منشیانِ سحرکار بود خدمتِ نگاشتنِ نامهٔ شگرف تفویض شد والحق این خدمت را بشایستگی انجامید – مکتوب را بملاحظهٔ سلطان گذرانیدند و از مهر و تولک مزین ساختند. . . .و همدراں زماں امیر شهاب‌الدین علی که شهاب تخلص کرد و بسیار نغز گوی و بیک واسطه شاگردِ مسعود سعد سلمان بوده بدارالخلافة مراجعت نمود –

And to Ruknuddīn Hamzah, who was one of the leading poets and marvellous writers of the age, was entrusted the duty of writing the momentous letter, and verily he accomplished this task well. They presented the letter to the king, and adorned it with the royal sign and seal. And at the same time Amīr Shihābuddīn 'Alī, who used *Shihāb* as his *nom de guerre* and was a very elegant poet and in a way

[1] Mss. pp. 89-90.

a pupil of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, returned to the capital.

Even the later Persian biographers and critics have recognised Shihāb's greatness as a poet, a fact which they attribute to the patronage and appreciation of Persian poetry by the Ghaznavīd kings.[1] 'Aufī mentions Shihāb under the poets of Ghaznī and Lāhore, and pays a glowing tribute to his poetic genius and wit, calling him a *king* among poets and a *moon* among stars.[2] His compositions consist chiefly of *qaṣīdah*, *ghazal*, *rubā'ī* and *qiṭ'a*. Some specimens are given below:—

[1] Cf. Luṭf 'Alī Bēg Āẕar:—

شهاب‌الدین و هو محمد رشید – مولد و موطن و مضجعش غزنین و معاصرِ شیخ سنائی و رائض میدانِ نظم و نثر و مداحِ بهرام شاه بن مسعود و خسرو شاه غزنوی و تربیت یافتهٔ آن سلاطین بوده –

(Ātashkadah, p. 118)

[2] Cf.—

اگر شعرای ممالکِ بیان پهلوانند او شاه بود و اگر فضلا بر آسمانِ فضل اخترانند او ماه بود شعر او سحرِ حلال و آبِ زلال را تعبیر کرده است و نظمِ او عقدِ منظوم و دُرِّ منثور را تنفیر کرده معانی دلفریبِ او روح را روح و عقل را ذوق بخشیده و صفاء خاطرِ او کوثر را مکدر خوانده –

(Lubāb, vol. II, p. 276)

قصیده در ستایشِ بهرام شاه غزنوی

سپیده دم چو خطِ نور بر ظلام کشند   براقِ خسروِ سیاره در لجام کشند
همی بر آید خورشید از ممالکِ شرق   چو خنجری که بتدریجش از نیام کشند
چنان نماید اطرافِ لاجورد سپهر   که سوده شنجرفی بر رخِ رخام کشند
ز آفتاب فلک زان سبب چنان گردد   که زرِّ پخته که بر روی سیم خام کشند
ز پیشِ صبح چنان بردمد تو می گوئی   که ز آشیانهٔ عقعق همی لحام کشند
ستارگان را یک یک ز پشتِ لشکر ماه   ز روی چرخ یکایک میان دام کشند
بدستِ حام چو یابند سام را مظلوم   ز ابتسام صبا انتقام سام کشند
گهی ز ماه بر او تاج و سپر سازند   گهی ز مهر بر او نیزه و حسام کشند
ز عدل شاه همانا خبر نداشته اند   که صبح و شام ز یکدیگر انتقام کشند
خدا یگانهٔ خسرو که مرکبِ ظفرش   برزمگاه بر مسندِ انام کشند
کمان دولت و بختش هنوز نیم کش است   جهان چو تیره شود راست گر تمام کشند
ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود   که بارِ منتش از شکر خاص و عام کشند
یمینِ دولتِ شاهی که خسروانِ جهان   بیادِ بزمش برپای مَی زجام کشند
بروز هیجا اقبال و فتح و نصرت و بخت   نجیب مرکبِ میمونش را لجام کشند
گهِ یساق بگلگون و ابرشش برسد   سیاه و خنگِ شب و روز اگرچه گام کشند
زبان آنکه بملکش چو سوسن است دوسر   بنفشه وار ز سوی قفا زکام کشند
ز دشمنانش شب و روز آفتاب و بخار   بجای فضله حیات از رهِ مسام کشند
چنان نمایش دارد بخنجرش خورشید   که از نیامش هر روز لعل فام کشند
اگر بمشرق دریک نیام بینندش   بوقتِ صبح ندانند کز کدام کشند
زهی مظفر و منصور خسروی که ملاک   غبار جیشِ تو در دیده ز احترام کشند
ز انتصاف و ز انصافِ تو شگفتی نیست   ذواتِ مخلب اگر چینهٔ حمام کشند
سگانِ صیدِ ترا چون قلاده نو باید   ز یالِ شیر بروز شکار خام کشند
به نفخ صور چو یحیی العظام بر خوانند   بمحشرگاه در از رزم تو عظام کشند

مظفرا ملکا در جهاں سپاهی کش — که بر و بحر ازاں کوکب ازدحام کشند
فلک فزوں شود از لشکرت سپاه زند — زمیں کم آید اگر دامن خیام کشند
چو هند و سندهه گرفتی مثال ده بهسپاه — که تا ز چین و یمن سوی مصر و شام کشند
ز تیغ دست مکش نامجوی ازآں بجهاں — که پادشاهاں تیغ از برای نام کشند
برنج نفس جهاں را فکن به آسایش — که رنج نفس بملک اندروں کرام کشند
برای ملک روا باشد ار جهاد کنی — برای گل سزد ار مالش زکام کشند
همیشه تا بخرید و فروخت باشد نرخ — که هر چه می‌شود آنرا رباو وام کشند
بساں بشاهی چنداں بزی که مے سرکه — شود حلال برین چیز کت حرام کشند

Ghazal

The following verses from one of his lyrics are quoted by Āẕar. Their melody recalls Rūdakī and Sa'dī:—

[1] ابرے خوش است پرده بر آفاق می کشد — دل سوی ساقیان سمن ساق می کشد
دستان مرغ پردهٔ عشاق می درد — عزت گرفته دامن عشاق می کشد

Another specimen supplied by 'Aufī is as follows:—

[2] ز برگ نسترنش چوں بنفشه سر برزد — هزار عاشق دیدم که دست بر سر زد

Qiṯ'a

He has further quoted two specimens of *qiṯ'a* which were composed when Bahrāmshāh sat for the operation of *fasd*[3]:—

[1] Ātashkadah, p. 118.

[2] Lubāb, vol. II, p. 281.

[3] *Fasd* is the process of opening the artery in the right arm to let out the excess blood. This is generally done in Persia once a year in the spring season.

[1]ملک بخوردنِ بادہ چو مطرباں بنشاند
بہر گرفتنِ خوں قصد کرد و رگ زن خواند
بنشکِ فرخِ فرخندۂ مبارک پی
بجوی سیم دروں شاخِ سرخ بید نشاند
بنوکِ آهنِ پولاد جوی سیم بکند
ز دستِ زرّ فشانِ ملک عقیق فشاند

دیگر

[2]آمد آں کودکِ مسیح پرست — نیشِ الماس گوں گرفته بدست
طشتِ زرّین و آبدستاں خواست — بازوی شهر یار عالم بست
نیش بگریست گفت عزّ علیه — اینچنیں دست را که یارد خست
سر فرو برد بوسه داد برو — وز سرِ نوکِ نیش خوں برجست

The following is an example of his *rubā'ī*, which he wrote to one of his friends who had presented him with a bouquet of flowers consisting of narcissus and rose :—

Rubā'ī

[3]شاخکی چند نرگسِ رعنا — گلکی چند تازه و چیده
آں همه دید هاى بے چهره — ویں همه چهره هاي بے دیده

[1] Lubāb.

[2] *Note:*—Shiblī has attributed this *qit'a* to Rūdakī, saying that the latter had composed it for Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (Shi'r ul 'Ajam, vol. I, p. 63). It is evidently a mistake, for Rūdakī was not living in the time of Maḥmūd, but flourished at the court of the Sāmānīd king Naṣr bin Aḥmād, long before the Ghaznavīds came to power.

[3] Ātashkadah, p. 118.

Nāzukī of Marāghah.

Another famous poet of Mu'izzuddīn's court was Nāzukī of Marāghah. His several poems in praise of the Sultān are preserved in various histories. The following *qiṯ'a* which he composed on the occasion of the Sultān's coronation is reproduced here by way of illustration:—

[1] شه معزدین که از دولتِ اوست — همچو گلدسته فلک بسته میان
رفت بر تخت چو گل در وقتی — که فلک بردَ خور اندر میزان
آنکه در آتش قهرش بد خواه — جان شیرین بدهد شکر سان
شکر دین و گل دولت را — باهم آمیخت سپهرِ گردان
یارب این گلشکر دولت و دین — سببِ صحتِ عالم گردان

Qāẓī Ḥamīd of Balkh.

Besides being a poet, he was deeply learned in Ethics and Jurisprudence. One *qiṯ'a* which he wrote in praise of the Sultān on the occasion of a victory in battle is quoted below:—

[2] خسرو غازی معزالدین والدنیا که هست
روز هیجا با همایون رایتش همسر ظفر
بوالمظفر شهریار شرق کاندر معرکه
گوئیا دارد همای چترش اندر پر ظفر

[1] Badāūnī gives the first line as follows, which is out of metre:—

شه معزالدین کز دولت اوست

(Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 54)

[2] Ibid.

The one important factor in the development of Persian literature in Mu'izzuddīn's time was the arrival of fresh bands of Persian men of letters from Khurāsān along with his army, with which he quelled the rebellion at Lāhore, which took place during his stay at Ghaznī where he had been urgently called by reason of his brother Ghiyāṣuddīn's death. This immigration of Persian men of letters is a link in the cultural connection between India and Persia, which was firmly established by Maḥmūd.

Imām Fakhruddīn Rāzī, and his connection with India.

One of the most distinguished men of learning of Mu'izzuddīn's court was Imām Fakhruddīn Rāzī, the famous divine. He was much admired and respected by the king and the people; even in times of war Rāzī's tent used to be near the King's. Rāzī preached to the army once a week, whether in India or at Ghaznī, and the king with all his officials attended Rāzī's sermons which were delivered in the Persian language. It is authoritatively asserted that Rāzī often had to stay in India for months and years together while in the company of the king. The real significance of these weekly Persian sermons which were attended by hundreds and thousands of India's common folk, besides the bulk of the royal army, has not yet been fully understood in all its aspects by the Persian chroniclers. Its effect was undoubtedly far-reaching, inasmuch as it completely revolutionised the literary taste of the people, and

stirred up the cultured and poetically-minded class to take to writing in Persian. The Sulṯān was so greatly devoted to Rāzī that he often wept in the presence of the audience.[1] One day Rāzī pointedly addressed, in the course of his lectures, the following lines to the king, purporting that the world is transitory, and that he should try to live at peace with all, even with his enemies :—

[2]اگر دشمن نسازد با تو ای دوست   ترا باید که با دشمن بسازی
و گر نه چند روزے صبر فرما   نه او ماند نه تو نه فخر رازی

The immigration of Ṣūfīs from Persia; and the beginning of mystical teaching in India.

Another great event of this period is the immigration of some learned Ṣūfīs from Persia to India. Their stay here with a view to imparting spiritual instruction and propagating mystical ideas among the people, and thereby creating an unprecedented taste and enthusiasm for Persian mysticism opens a new chapter in the growth of ethical ideas in India. This teaching was conducted partly in the Persian language and partly in the

[1] Cf.—

امام فخرالدین رازی...در لشکرِ سلطان معزالدین محمد سام اقامت داشته هر هفته بوعظ قیام می نمود و سلطان در پای وعظِ او رفته رقت بسیارمی کرد –

(Ibid., p. 53)

[2] Ibid.

local Prākrits, which the Persian Ṣūfīs made a special effort to acquire. But, on the whole, the main vehicle was Persian, specially Persian poetry.

Islām was progressing side by side with Persian literature under the banner of the Ghaznavīd kings, and the number of the reciters of the *Kalima i Tauḥīd* (the formula of the Oneness of God) was fast multiplying in the North-Western territory of Hindūstān. The Hindū States connected with the Punjāb were under the sway of idolatry, and the same was the case with the vast tracts of Rājpūtāna. There were rich temples, where idols were worshipped with great zeal and ceremony as in Sōmnāth, of which a vivid account was given by Farrukhī in his memorable *qaṣīdah* already cited. The supposed principle of the Unity of God, which a section among the Hindū elite advocated and claimed to be inherent in the worship of the animals, trees and stones, was not a feature or tendency in common practice, nor was it believed in theory. The public viewed the form itself to be the substance, and rejoiced in its worship. The custodians of the temples had attributed such miracles to their deities that the worshippers entertained no doubt as to their absolute power and might, and made no attempt to discover the real *One*. The assertion, therefore, that these physical objects were the manifestations of One God, worshipped to emphasise and impress His greatness on the mind, was a delusion. People in general were

not very different from the educated public in their religious beliefs and customs so that everywhere in the towns and villages of India the worship of the creature, instead of the Creator, was the order of the day and was conducted with solemnity and ceremony.

Arrival of Khwājah Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī from Persia.

Such was the state of religion and society when Khwājah Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī Sanjarī Isfahānī arrived in India from Persia in the beginning of 556 A. H. He finally settled in Ajmēr, the capital city of Rāi Pithōrā, and here founded a school for the teaching of Sūfīsm which spread its influence not only on the soil of Rājpūtāna, but also on the minds of the people far beyond its boundaries, irrespective of caste and creed. Many spiritual men and Sūfīs had come to India before, and it is possible that during the time of the *Khulafā i Rāshidīn* even the Companions of the Holy Prophet might have visited the country, but their names and enterprises are not preserved in history. As far as we know, the Khwājah was the first to come and light the candle of Sūfīsm in upper Hindūstān by laying the foundation of a regular school for the teaching of the Sūfī cult.[1]

[1] It is to be noted that Abul Hasan bin 'Usmān bin 'Alī al Hujvērī, a learned theologian and Sūfī, the famous author of the *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, who was a resident of Ghaznī, had come down to Lāhore in 433 A. H. Here he spent the rest of his life in teaching the Holy Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Holy

The ancestors of the Khwājah lived in Sīstān, but he was born at Iṣfahān[1] in 537 A. H.,[2] and was brought up in Khurāsān,[3] where he also received primary education and became a regular disciple of Shaikh 'Uṣmān Hārūnī of Chisht.[4] He served his

Prophet. He died in 455 A. H., and was buried at Lāhore. He had, doubtless, created a taste for Ṣūfīsm and a desire for the purification of *self* among the peoples of the Punjab, but his teaching was not so universal and organised as that of the Khwājah. It could not, therefore, be said to have laid the foundation of any permanent spiritual structure in India, and consequently no traces of his school and his teachings are to be found anywhere today. On the other hand, the Khwājah is a living force, and his disciples are to be met with in every town of upper Hindūstān, carrying the Khwāja's message to every seeker of divine knowledge. Abul Ḥasan's *Kashf ul Maḥjūb*, which he wrote at Lāhore, is a collection of answers to particular questions put from time to time by a fellow Ṣūfī and friend Abū Sa'īd al Hujvērī. The nature and trend of the aforesaid questions were *Who is a Ṣūfī? Who is a learned man? What is the good of their existence in the world?* Abul Ḥasan, in response to this, explained the term *Ṣūfī* in its broadest sense, and defined *learning* and the *learned* as interpreted in the Holy Qur'ān:—

انما يخشى الله من عباده العلموا

[1] Cf.— مولد شريف وى بلدهٔ اصفهان است (Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā, p. 241)

[2] Cf.— ولادت با سعادت آنجناب در سال پانصد و سى و هفت بوقوع آمد (Ibid., p. 250)

[3] Cf.— و نشو و نما در خراسان يافت (Ibid.)

[4] *Chisht* is a small village in Khurāsān, to which Khwājah Abū Isḥāq, a teacher of Shaikh 'Uṣmān Hārūnī, had migrated from Syria. Here he used to impart instructions to his disciples, who became subsequently known as *Chishtīs*. The Khwājah also, for this reason, was called *Chishtī*.

master for eight years,[1] and during this time gained a good insight into Ṣūfīsm, and was appointed his *Khalīfah* (Deputy) in his very lifetime.[2] The saint died in 554 A. H., when the Khwājah was seventeen years old. The Khwāja's father, Ghiyāṣuddīn, had his ancestral property at Sīstān, but had left the place only two years after the birth of the child, owing to the periodical attacks on Sīstān by the barbarous and troublesome Tārtars known as the *Ghuz*. He went to Khurāsān and took up his residence in the suburbs of Nīshāpūr, where his death occurred in 551 A. H. The Khwājah was then only fourteen years old. He had two other brothers on whom the inheritance devolved. The share he received consisted

[1] Cf.—

خواجۂ بزرگ معین الحق والملة والدین حسن الحسینی سنجری . . .
هشت سال در خدمتِ خواجہ عثمان هارونی قدس اللّٰه سره بود –

(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 22, Nawāzish Khān Press, Delhi, 1327 A. H.)

Note:—A later printed edition gives the reading بست سال (twenty years) which is not supported by any other writer, and may be a misprint for هشت سال (eight years).

(Ibid., Mujtabā'ī Press, Delhi, 1332 A. H.)

[2] Cf.—

در سفر و حضر جامۂ خوابِ خواجہ نگاہ داشتے – انگاہ بہ نعمتِ خلافت مشرف گردید –

(Ibid.)

of a small garden and a stone-mill. In 549 A. H., when he was hardly twelve, he had seen with his own eyes the devastations of the Ghuz Tārtars, the massacre and plunder of Nīshāpūr, the burning of its precious libraries, the slaughter of hundreds of scholars of renown,[1] the defeat and arrest of Sultān Sanjar at the hands of the Tārtars and the insults and humiliation to which the dignitaries were subjected. Consequently, his heart had become cold towards worldly splendour and wealth. After his father's death he remained for about four years in the district of Nīshāpūr where his ancestral garden, which was his only means of subsistence, was situated. At the close of the fourth year, a *majzūb* saint, Ibrāhīm Qalandar, who resided in that vicinity, chanced to pass that way. When he arrived, the Khwājah accorded him a warm welcome, spread out a carpet

[1] Some most notable persons who were put to death were:

(*i*) Muhammad bin Yahyā *Faqīh*, a learned theologian of the Shāfi'ī school of thought, who is said to have no equal in his day in the entire Muslim world.

(*ii*) 'Ārif 'Abdurrahmān bin 'Abdussamad Akāf, whose piety and learning, which were of household repute in Khurāsān, had attracted thousands of disciples to Nishāpūr. Even Sultan Sanjar used to attend in person on the 'Ārif to profit by his company and to gain his blessings.

(*iii*) Ahmad bin Husain al-kātib, the philosopher, who was the nephew of Imām Muhammad Qushairī.

(*iv*) Imām 'Alī Sabbāgh, the well-known writer and logician of the age.

(*v*) Qāzī Sā'id Undulūsī, the historian and *adīb*.

for him, knelt and kissed his hands and presented him with a bunch of grapes fresh from the garden. Pleased with this demeanour and hospitality of his young host, the saint took out a piece of کنجاره (oil-cake) from his wallet, bit it with his teeth and then put it into the mouth of the Khwājah. As soon as he ate it, he felt a radical change in his condition, and his heart became completely averse to material concerns[1]. Soon after the saint's departure, the Khwājah sold his garden and the mill with all other appurtenances, divided the proceeds among the poor and left the place with some of his faithful followers in search of the Divine Light. He arrived first in Bukhārā, which was a noted centre for religious and ethical knowledge in Central Asia. Here he learnt the Qur'ān by heart, and read its commentary with the learned divines of the town. He then travelled through Samarqand and other cities of Turkistān, and subsequently returned to his native place, Iṣfahān, where he met with Khwājah Qutbuddīn

[1] Cf.

روزے دراں باغ تشریف می داشت که مجذوبے ابراهیم قلندر نام را
در آنجا گذر افتاد. . . قدرے کنجاره از بغل آورده در دہانِ خود نہاد و
بدندان خائیده بر آورد و بدستِ خود در دہانِ خواجه نہاد بمجرد خوردنِ
کنجاره انوارِ الهی در دلِ خواجه جلوه گر شدند و خاطرِ فیض مآثر از اسبابِ
دنیا سرد شد –

(Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā, pp. 241-42)

Bakhtyār Kākī, a young ardent Ṣūfī, who became his disciple and accompanied him to India.

The occurrence of a strange event: conversion of Ẓiyā'uddīn Ḥakīm, the famous logician, who had no faith in Ṣūfīsm.

From Iṣfahān he repaired with his followers to Balkh, where a strange event, which was attributed to his supernatural powers, occurred. It was the conversion to faith of the famous logician Ẓiyā'uddīn Ḥakīm, who was a strong opponent of the Ṣūfīs and derided their cult in his public lectures. Some details of this incident are as follows. In 555 A. H., when the Khwājah reached Balkh, he stayed in a village, and one evening shot a *kulang* (wild crane) with his arrow to break his fast. He always carried with him a salt-cellar, a flint-stone and a bow with arrows to serve him in the hour of need. He would shoot some *ḥalāl* bird or quadruped in the jungle when nothing could be had for his own and his followers' break-fast. This, from the purely religious point of view, was to be the best earned food. It so happened that one day Ẓiyā'uddīn, who with his pupils had gone out for a stroll, passed that way, and seeing a stranger offering his evening prayers with devout zeal and reciting the Holy Qur'ān in a sweet, beautiful voice, stopped to hear him. When the prayer was finished, Ẓiyā'uddīn embraced the Khwājah and entered into conversation with him. In the meantime, one of the attendants of the Khwājah put before him

the roast *kulang* with the salt-cellar. The Khwājah offered a portion to his guest, who thankfully accepted it and ate with him. No sooner did he do this than he fell in a swoon, and when he regained his consciousness, he found himself to be a totally different man, and his former disbelief in Ṣūfīsm was completely shattered and turned into a firm belief.[1] He and all his followers accepted the Khwājah as their spiritual guide, and became afterwards devout adherents of his cult.[2] This incident created a sensation in Balkh, and multitudes thronged to have his *darshan*. From there he set out to India via Ghaznī, and reached Lāhore in 556 A. H. This Indian capital city was ahead of its rival in worldly splendour

[1] Cf.—

و ضیاءالدین حکیم که بغایت مغرور و منکر تصوف بود نیز اتفاقاً از آنطرف گذر کرد و از خوش خوانی و قرأتِ خَواجۂ بزرگ متاثر شده بنشست تا یکدیگر رادر یافتند. . . مصاحبے کلنگ کباب کرده را پیش نهاد خواجه پارۂ ازاں به حکیم بخشید و بخوردنش اشارت نمود – بمجرد خوردن حکیم از خویشتن برفت و چوں صحت یافت خود را بکلی منزه و مبرا از همه و اهمه دید –

(Siyar us Sālikīn, pp. 41-42)

[2] Cf.—

همه یارانِ با صفا به ارادت و اخلاصِ تمام معتقدِ آنحضرت شدند و دل در طاعتِ او بستند –

(Ibid., p. 43)

and in religious and cultural advancement. But here too he did not tarry long. After a forty days' vigil at the tomb of his predecessor, Abul Hasan 'Alī bin 'Uṣmān al-Hujvērī, he left for Multān, and asked his comrade-in-chief, Khwājah Qutbuddīn, to go to Delhi and start his teaching there. Before his departure to Multān, the Khwājah composed a fine *qasīdah* in honour of the saint at whose tomb he had completed the vigil. The first verse runs thus:—

[1] گنج بخشِ فیضِ عالم مظهرِ نورِ خدا   کاملاں را پیرِ کامل ناقصاں را رهنما

The same year he reached Multān where he seriously applied himself for about five years to the study of Sanskrit and the Prākrit of the land,[2] to enable him to come in personal contact with the masses and preach successfully to them the cult of Sūfīsm. This appears to have been his avowed mission from the very beginning of his career when, in 549 A. H., he had seen Nīshāpūr sacked at the hands of the Ghaz Tārtars, and the magnates and the elite of the town massacred in cold blood and their vanity fallen to dust. Having secured his objective,

[1] Ibid.
[2] Cf.—

حضرتِ ایشاں قدس سره تا قریب پنج سال در بلدۀ ملتان قیام نموده
جهدِ بسیار در حصولِ زبانِ هندویان بکار بردند و فائزالمرام برگشتند –

(Ibid., p. 44)

he with his followers left for Delhi where he stayed for some time with his *Khalīfah* whom he gave fresh instructions on the divine mission entrusted to their care. Finally, he departed for Ajmēr of which, it is asserted, he had been apprised in his dream. There were neither Muslim institutions here as in Lāhore and Delhi, nor had any Muslim preacher, prior to him, trodden the ground and left his print, showing the way to others. His difficulties were enormous, but his determination surmounted them all. There were large and powerful Hindū States all round, which had formed a bulwark against the propagation of any such mission in the interior of Rājpūtāna. He reached Ajmēr on the 10th of Muharram 561 A. H.,[1] when only four and twenty. A tall, handsome figure with a *faqīr's* mode of living, imbued with a high sense of devotion, a true example of self-denial and service to mankind, with no personal ambition for power or fame, fasting in the day and keeping vigil at night and plainly dressed in coarse hand-woven cloth, he could not but impress even the most wary. He came, accompanied by *forty* devout adherents, in the reign of Rāi Pithōrā at the time when the latter

[1] Cf.

چند در دهلی قیام پذیر مانده بتاریخِ دهم ماهِ محرم سنه ۵۶۱ ﻫ
رونق افروزِ دارالخیرِ اجمیر گشت

(Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, p. 243)

was present in his capital,[1] and like a stranger stayed at first under a *peepal* tree outside the gate of the city, where the Rājā's camels rested at night.[2] In the evening, when the camels arrived and their keepers objected to his passing the night there, he moved to Ānā-Sāgar, from where he subsequently shifted to his permanent place of residence in the heart of the town, where his mausoleum now stands.[3]

[1] Cf. و در زمانِ پتهورا راے هندوستان باجمیر آمد و بعبادتِ مولی مشغول شد و پتهورا نیز دراں زمان در اجمیر بود –

(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 22)

[2] Cf: چوں خواجه معین‌الحق والدین در اجمیر رسید بیرونِ شهر زیرِ درختے که شترانِ راجهٔ اجمیر در انجامی نشستند مقام فرمود –

(Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, p. 244)

Note:—The tree under which the Khwājah took shelter on his arrival at Ajmēr is stated by a modern writer, Abul Fazl, to be a *peepal* tree; also the number of his disciples, who accompanied him on his mission to Ajmēr, is said to be *forty*.

(Tarīkh i Khwājah Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī, p. 43)

[3] Cf.— چوں شب شد شترانِ راجهٔ اجمیر در انجا جمع آمدند و ساربانان بخدمت حاضر شده عرض کردند که ایں مقام مقام نشستنِ شترانِ راجهٔ ما است مجلسِ شما در اینجا نخواهد بود فرمود که ما ازینجا برمی خیزیم شترانِ شما نشسته باشند پس از انجا روانه شده بر لبِ حوضِ آنا ساگر که بت‌خانه های بے شمار در انجا تعمیر ساخته بودند مقام فرمود......بعد چندے خواجه مکان بود و باش خویش اندرون شهر تجویز فرموده در شهر تشریف آورد و بجائیکه الحال روضهٔ منورهٔ آنجناب واقع است قیام فرمود –

(Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, pp. 244-46)

This was the period of the decline of the Ghaznavīd empire and the rise to power of the Ghōrī kings. Sultān Shihābuddīn led his first attack on Rājpūtāna in 587 A. H., when the Khwājah was there for over a quarter of a century and had been successfully preaching his mission since then among the masses. Rāi Pithōrā aided by Gobind Rāi, the mandatory Rājā of Delhi, and several others[1] presented to the Sultān a united front, and their combined armies inflicted a heavy defeat on the latter, who was wounded on the battle-field and fled for his life.[2] He was again preparing for a

[1] Cf.

شنیدم چو رایانِ هند این خبر   شنیدند بستند در کین کمر
پتھورا ز اجمیر لشکر کشید   بسے اهل هندش بیاری رسید
ز دهلی به پیوست گوبند رائے   بفوجِ پتھورای لشکر کشائے
دگر جمله رایانِ هندی دیار   شده ساخته از پئے کارزار

('Isāmī, Futūh us Salātīn, p. 67, National Press, Agra, 1938)

[2] Cf.

چو از هر دو جانب صف آراستند   حریف از دو جانب همی خواستند
شنیدم خود آن خسرو چیره دست   خروشید و جوشید چون شیرِ مست
برانگیخت رخش آن یلِ صف شکن   بزد نیزه گوبند را بر دهن
همان چیره گوبند پر خاش گر   بر انداخت ز و پس بران شیرِ نر
چنان بازوش شد ز زوپیں فگار   که از اسپ افتاد آن شهر یار
چو لشکر دران حال شه را بدید   عنان را بعزمِ هزیمت کشید

second attack to wipe off the disgrace of this defeat. Meanwhile the Khwājah was busy with his mission, gaining more popularity every day among the State subjects, because of his benevolent nature and saintly life. The people at large, and the Hindū nobility,

بافواجِ ترکاں شکستے فتاد سوے ملکِ خود هر یکے سر نهاد

(Ibid.) pp. 67-68

Note:—I had no knowledge of this poet until sometime after the publication of the *Futūḥ us Salāṭīn* in 1938, edited by Dr. Āghā Mahdī Ḥasan of the Agra College, Agra. The work was discovered by him in the India Office Library during his stay in London. It is a valuable addition to the existing poetical literature of our country, and supplies one more instance of an indigenous poet trying to compete with Firdausī, the renowned epic poet of Persia. The published work contains 11,524 verses written in the manner and style of Firdausī's *Shāhnāmah*, and dedicated to Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn Ḥasan, the founder of the Bahmanī Dynasty. The nativity of the poet is established on the authority of the author of the *Majmū'a i Taẕkār*, who incidentally mentions a young poet of Delhi by name 'Iṣāmuddīn. This is corroborated by the poet's own statement that he left Delhi for Daulatābād when only 16 years old. He lived during the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule, and was a contemporary of Khusrau. He finished his work, which may worthily be called the *Shāhnāmah of India*, in 751 A. H., when he was 40 years of age. The most surprising event is that it took him only 5 months and 9 days to complete the whole poem. Thus he was easily ahead of Firdausī in speed, a fact which shows his perfect mastery and command of the language. The work in quality and general historical aspect is similar to Firdausī's *Shāhnāmah*. It begins with:—

بنامِ خداوندِ هر دو جهاں کند ابتدا نامه کارِ آگهاں

(Ibid. p. 1)

who came to visit him at Ajmēr felt attracted towards him, and the stamp of his virtuous life was impressed on their hearts. Many a stranger and traveller, who came from far off places in search of *light* or livelihood, applied to him for shelter and help which he always ungrudgingly extended. His influence over the common people and the nobility had grown considerably, and a word of recommendation from him in respect of any one carried weight with them, so that the needy seldom returned from his door gloomy and disappointed. It is for this reason that he was popularly called *Gharīb Nawāz* (the entertainer of strangers). His motto of life, as he himself stated, was:—

[1]درویش آنست که هر آں بندہ براں کس که بحاجت آید محروم و
نا مراد نگر داند —

> A *darwīsh* is he who does not deprive and disappoint any one who cometh to him in his need.

Rāi Pithōrā seemed at first to have no grudge against the Khwājah, because of his harmless and non-political mission, but subsequently smelt danger, and did not like his growing religious influence, which was drawing many of the State subjects to his fold. The worst was that the sepoys of the

[1]Malfūẕāt, p. 35.

Rājā's army too were embracing Islām and becoming his disciples. At this time, the Muhammadan kings of the line of Ghōr were leading their attacks against Delhi and Ajmēr, which endangered the very existence of the Hindū power and suzerainty in those parts. Another factor which enraged Pithōrā was that one of his own servants was reported to have embraced Islām and become a devout adherent of the Khwājah. This state of affairs could not be tolerated by the royal house, as it was feared that others would follow suit. The servant consequently lost all favour, suffered a good deal of injury and was eventually dismissed from the service on some pretext. Thereupon, the latter solicited help from the Khwājah, who sent a special messenger to Pithōrā interceding for the servant and recommending his reinstatement. But Rāi Pithōrā not only contemptuously rejected the Khwāja's request, but made adverse remarks, whereupon the latter prophesied Pithōrā's fall from power and his capture at the hands of the Muslim king.[1] Shortly after this incident,

[1] و هم دریں اوان یکے از ملازمانِ پتهورا بدستِ خواجه بیعت نموده قدم از کفر و ضلال بیروں نهاد - بمجرد استماعِ ایں خبر او از نظرِ رای و رایان بیفتاد و رنجها کشید و در فکر ما یحتاج سر گشته و حیران ماند و التجا بخواجهٔ بزرگ آورد - حضرتِ ایشاں از راه تلطف که جبلتِ کریمان است قاصدے نزدِ پتهورا بشفاعت فرستادند - اما پتهورا الفاظِ نا ملایم که ما

Shihābuddīn Ghōrī led his second attack in 588 A. H. The strength of his army, including his cavalry and infantry, was estimated to be at one *lac*, against which Rāi Pithōrā's forces were three times as great. The Rājā of Delhi and other ruling chiefs of surrounding States had brought together on the battle-field a huge garrison with seven hundred veteran fighting elephants to create panic in the rank and file of the enemy at the very outset. Both the armies met at Tirōrī and tried their strength heroically. At last, after a day's fierce battle the united armies of the Rājās were defeated, and Khandē Rāo, the Commander-in-chief, was killed on the battle-field. Rāi Pithōrā, who at first managed to escape under cover of darkness, fell a captive in the hands of some

اورا از شهر بیرون کنیم بر زبان را ند و التفاتے نکرد - چوں حضرتِ ایشاں سخنهای اورا بشنیدند فرمودند که بے نصیب است و بکردارِ خود گرفتار آمده و ما اورا بیروں کردیم و دادیم -

(Siyar us Sālikīn, p. 44)

Also cf.—

روزے پتهورا مسلمانے را از پیوستگانِ خواجه قدس سره بسببے از اسباب رنجانید - آں مسلمان التجا بخدمتِ او آورد و خواجه بشفاعت بر پتهورا گفتهٔ فرستاد - پتهورا گفتهٔ شیخ قبول نکرد و گفت ایں مرد دریں جا آمده است و نشسته سخنان غیب می گوید - چوں ایں سخن بخواجه رسید فرمود که پتهورا را زنده گرفتیم و دادیم -

(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 22)

Pathāns, and was brought back and put to death. In this way the prophecy of the Khwājah came to be literally true.

After this victory, the Sulṯān entrusted the kingdom of Ajmēr to Pithōrā's son, and himself repaired to Ghaznī, having appointed Quṯbuddīn, one of his trusted and able slaves, as the Viceroy of his Indian possessions. Quṯbuddīn nominated a pious and learned Ṣūfī, Sayyid Ḥasan Mashhadī, popularly known as *khing-sawār* (horse-rider), as his *'Āmil* (agent) of Ajmēr. He was a great admirer of the Khwājah, and, according to some writers, had already become his disciple. This afforded a very favourable opportunity for the Khwāja's mission to succeed and spread in the whole of Rājpūtāna and Central India. Hundreds of people from the interior of the country visited Ajmēr every day and freely embraced Islām and became his converts. His death occurred at the advanced age of 97 on the 6th of Rajab, 633 A. H., on which date his *'Urs* (death anniversary) is held every year at Ajmēr. Late in life, he married the daughter of Sayyid Wajīhuddīn, uncle of Sayyid Ḥasan Mashhadī, following in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet, and had issue whose descendants are still the custodians of his tomb.

The great belief of the Indian people in his saintly life and devotion in the service of mankind contributed to his immense popularity and endeared him to every heart. His motto of life

"*to deprive and disappoint none who cometh to him in his need*" was inviolate in his life-time and even after his death. Millions have since been visiting his tomb every year to have their wishes fulfilled, and what is more important, return home successful. The childless get children, the poor money, and the sick health. Akbar, the Great, went on foot from Āgra to Ajmēr to pay his homage to the Khwājah, in fulfilment of his vow to God on the birth of Jahāngīr in 977 A. H.[1]

He was a Persian by birth, and had come away

[1] Cf.—

توجه فرمودنِ حضرتِ شاهنشاهی پیاده از دارالخلافه باجمیر
و کامیاب شدن... بمطلبِ صوری و معنوی

چون شعارِ اقدسِ پادشاهی استمدادِ همت از بزرگان است دران هنگام که جویای فرزندِ اَرجمند بودند معامله با ایزد خود رفته بود که چون این امنیت بحصول انجامد از ابوابِ شکر عملی که بنفس مقدس متعلق شود آن بوده باشد که از دارالخلافهٔ آگره پیاده بزیارتِ روضهٔ متبرکهٔ خواجه معین‌الدین چشتی که از مقربانِ درگاهِ الهی اند رفته لوازم اطاعت ایزدی بتقدیم رسانند و مقرر بود در رجب که ماهِ عرسِ گرامیِ ایشان است این نیت از مکامن قوت بفعل آید و چون آنچنانَ گوهر شب تاب درج خلافت بساحلِ امید آمد ایفای نذر از شرائطِ حق گذاری و وفا بعهد از لوازم سپاسداری شناخته... روز جمعه دوازدهم ماهِ شعبان از دارالخلافه آگره پیاده قدم در وادیِ مرحله پیمائی و بیابان نوردی نهادند —

(Abul Faẓl, Akbarnāmah, vol. II, pp. 349-50)

to India in his early youth when only eighteen. His latent poetic powers were developed and displayed in the new surroundings after his arrival in India. He did not attempt panegyric or epic poems in the expectation of reward like the poets of the Ghaznavīd regime. Of the various kinds of poetry, he chose to write the *ghazal* and the *qaṣīdah*, every couplet of which is full of divine love. It is also noticeable that the tone of his verses is quite different from the general trend of Persian and Indian composition of his time. He left poetical works consisting of over seven thousand *bait*,[1] but unfortunately only a small portion of it has survived, which is a mirror of the development of Ṣūfīstic poetry in India. Some specimens of his *ghazal* and *qaṣīdah* are cited below which throw ample light on the standard attained by him in the art of poetical composition, and also give us an insight into the poetic atmosphere obtaining in India which influenced and shaped his Ṣūfīstic poetry.

[1] Cf.—

حضرتِ ایشاں در زمرۂ شعرای نامدار از مغتنماتِ روزگار اند و در اصنافِ شعر قصیدہ و غزل مرعی دارند - مجموعۂ کلامِ عرفانِ آنحضرت کہ گنجینۂ بیش از هفت هشت هزار بیت بودہ از دستِ دورانِ نا مهربان از میان رفت و اندکی ازاں ماندہ -

(Siyar us Sālikīn, p. 44)

غزل

در حمد

ربود جان و دلم را جمالِ نامِ خدا　　نواخت تشنه لبان را زلالِ نامِ خدا
وصالِ حق طلبی همنشینِ نامَش باش　　ببین وصالِ خدا در وصالِ نامَ خدا
میانِ اسم و مسمیٰ چو فرق نیست ببین　　تو در تجلیِ اسما کمالِ نامَ خدا
یقین بدان که توباحق نشستهٔ شب و روز　　چو همنشینِ تو باشد خیالِ نامَ خدا
ترا سزد طیران در فضای عالمِ قدس　　بشرطِ آنکه بپّری ببالِ نامَ خدا
چو نامِ او شنوم گر بود مرا صد جان　　فدای اوست بعز و جلالِ نامِ خدا
معین ز گفتنِ نامش ملول کے گردد　　که از خداست ملالت ملالِ نامِ خدا

In praise of God.

The beauty of the name of God has robbed me
of my heart and soul,
The pure water of His name quenched the thirsty
lips;
If thou desirest His Union, be an associate of
His name,
Realise the Union with God in the recitation of
His name;
When there is no difference in the *Name* and the
Named, see
In the glorification of His name the perfection
of the same;
Believe that thou art sitting in the company of
God day and night,
When thy companion is the reminiscence of
His name;

It is befitting for thee to fly in the air of the celestial world,
If only thou fliest with the wings of His name;
When I hear His name, if there be a hundred lives in me,
I swear by the glory of His name that I would sacrifice them all;
When does Mu'īn grudge the repetition of His name?
Since that grudge implies a grudge against Him.

وله

در حمد

دلا بحلقهٔ رندانِ بزمِ عشق در آ   که جرعهٔ ز شرابِ بقا دهند ترا
بیاو هر دو جهانرا بششدر اندر نه   درین قمار بیک داد هرچه هست دوآ
اگر بقا طلبی اوّلت فنا باید   که تا فنا نشوی ره نمی بری به بقا
تو باز شاهی و از دستِ شاه پرّ یدی   بغیر شاه مکن میل و سوی شه باز آ
ز ظلمتِ بشریّت چو بگذری بر سی   ازین حضیضِ دناءت بر اوجِ او ادنی
براقِ عشق برای تو صد قدم طے کرد   تو هم مضایقه بگذار و یک قدم پیش آ
تو چند در طلبِ یار در بدر گردی   بخود نگر که توئی مظهرِ همه اسما
باین مبین که تو خاکی و خاک تیره بود   باین نگر که تو آئینهٔ جمال نما
سحابِ عشق چو بارانِ شوق می بارد   عجب مدار گر از خاک بشکند گلّها
نقابِ هستیِ خود را تو از میان بردار   دگر ببین که جمالِ که می شود پیدا
بگیر مصقلهٔ عشق و زنگِ تن بزدای   ببین در آئینهٔ جان جمالِ جانان را
بکوش تا که ز چشمت غبار بر خیزد   که تا معاینه بینی ظهورِ نام خدا
اگر تجلیِ نور قدم همی خواهی   معین نقابِ حدوث از جمالِ خود بگشا

In Praise of God

O heart, come to the circle of libertines in the assembly of love
So that they may give thee a draught from the wine of Eternity;
Come and put both the worlds within the *six gates*,
In this gamble stake the whole of existence;
If thou seekest eternal existence, seek first non-existence,
Because thou canst not get the way to eternal existence, unless thou hast renounced thine own existence;
Thou art the king's hawk, and thou hast flown from the king's wrist,
Do not intend to fly in any other direction without the king's assent, come back to the king;
As soon as thou hast passed the darkness of humanity, thou wilt reach,
From the depth of this lowness, to the height of nearness to God;
The *burāq* of love has trodden a hundred paces towards thee,
Thou shouldst give up hesitation and go a step forward;
How long dost thou wander from door to door in search of the Beloved?
See within, because thyself is a mirror of all His

names;
Do not think that thou art dust and the dust is gloomy,
See that thou art the mirror which reflects *beauty*;
When the cloud of love pours down the rain of desire,
Do not wonder if flowers grow out of the earth;
Lift the curtain of thy existence from thy midst,
Then behold whose beauty becomes manifest;
Take the polish of love and remove the rust of thy body,
See in the mirror of thy soul the beauty of the loved One;
Try that the dust be removed from thine eye
So that thou mayst see the blaze of Divine light;
If thou desirest to possess the effulgence of *Eternal light*,
Mu'īn, lift the veil of *mortality* from thy beautiful figure.

وله

در حمد

ز پیش خویش بر افگن نقابِ دعوی را   ببین بکسوتِ صورت جمالِ معنی را
بزن بسنگِ ملامت ز جاجۀ ناموس   بکوی عشق بریز آبروی تقوی را
چو هست باغِ جنان خوشۀ ز خرمنِ من   به نیم جو نخرم کِشت زارِ دنیا را
بحقِ او که به کونین چشم نگشایم   که تا نخست نه بینم جمالِ مولی را
ز برگ برگِ درختِ وجودِ خود شنوم   رموزِ عشق که گفت آن درخت موسی را
اگر ز آتشِ عشقت بسوختم چه عجب   که کوه تاب نیاورد یک تجلی را

معین بچشم خرد حسن دوست ننماید
ببین بدیدهٔ مجنون جمال لیلی را

In Praise of God

Throw off the veil of conceit from before thy *self*,
See the beauty of Reality in the clothing of form;
Break the glass of prestige with the stone of reproach,
Strip off the robe of outward piety in the lane of love;
Since the garden of Paradise is a mere bunch from my barn,
I shall not buy the sown-field of the whole world even for half a grain of barley;
I swear by Him that I shall not open my eye unto the two worlds,
Until I first see His beauty;
From every leaf of the tree of my existence I hear
The secrets of love which that tree told Moses;
If I got burnt in the fire of Thy love, it is no wonder,
For even the *Mountain* could not bear a single ray of Thy splendour;
Mu'in, the beauty of the Beloved cannot be seen by the eye of wisdom,
See the beauty of *Lailā* with the eye of *Majnūn*.

وله

در نعت

عالم نمے از رشحهٔ بحر کرم اوست	آدم کف خاکے ز غبار قدم اوست
آدم شده بیدار و هنوز او بشکر خواب	شاباش وجودیکه طفیل عدم اوست
عیسیٰ که چو خورشید زند خیمه بر افلاک	در آرزوی سایهٔ عالی علم اوست
دُر در شکم بحر نها نست و دل او	دُریست که صد بحر نهان در شکم اوست
هر بنده که دارد خط آزادی دوزخ	آن بنده غلام وی و آن خط رقم اوست
شادی جهان کرد فدای غم امت	دانست که شادی جهانے بغم اوست
چون دید که نیکی تو کم بود بدی بیش	زین واسطه دانم که غم بیش و کم اوست
جانم که طپد هر نفس از بهر وصالش	موقوف برون آمدن دم به دم اوست
داریم امیدے که نه پرسند به محشر	تقصیر معینی که بنا بر کرم اوست

In praise of the Holy Prophet

The world is a moisture from the drop of the ocean of his benevolence,
Adam is a handful of dust from the dust under his feet;
Adam was awake when he (the Prophet) was still in sweet sleep,
Praiseworthy is the existence of the former which came only because the latter was to come;
Jesus, who like the sun pitches his tent on the skies,
Aspires for the shadow of his (Prophet's) lofty banner;

The pearl is hidden in the stomach of the ocean, and his heart
Is an ocean which contains a hundred oceans inside it;
Every one who possesses a letter of release from hell,
Is his slave and carries his writ;
He forsook the joys of the world for the sake of his followers,
For he knew that the happiness of the world could only be gained through his suffering;
When he saw that thy virtues are small and thy vices great,
It was for this reason, I know, that his grief became more and joy less;
My life that in every breath burns for union with him,
Is but awaiting to depart at his breath (order);
We have a hope that they will not question, on the day of Resurrection,
Mu'īn's sins, which relied on his forgiveness.

وله

در حمد

کسیکه عاشق و معشوق خویشتن همه اوست
حریفِ خلوت و ساقیِ انجمن همه اوست
اگر بدیدهٔ تحقیق بنگری دانی
که ناظرِ دل و منظورِ جان و تن همه اوست

چو اندر آینهٔ دل فتاد عکس رخش
چناں نمود که در جسم و جانِ من همه اوست
اگر تو خرقهٔ هستي خویش پاره کنی
نظر کنی که درین زیر پیرهن همه اوست
ز جامِ عشق نه منصور بیخود آمد و بس
که دار نیز همی گفت با رسن همه اوست
رموزِ عشق کند آشکار و نند یشد
چو دل بدید که در سرّ و در علن همه اوست
مگو که کثرتِ اشیا نقیضِ وحدتِ تست
تو در حقیقت اشیا نظر فگن همه اوست
تغاب است گر از اعتبار ما و منست
ز اعتبار گذر کن که ما و من همه اوست
چو نائيِ که نهد بردهانِ نی لب خویش
نهادهٔ بر دهنِ عاشقاں دهن همه اوست
چه جای بادهٔ جام و کدام ساقیِ هست
خموش باش معینی و دم مزن همه اوست

In praise of God

He who is the lover and himself the beloved,
'Tis all He,
A companion in solitude and a cup-bearer in
the assembly, 'Tis all He;
If thou seest with the eye of discernment, thou
wilt find
That the looker into the heart and the one the
soul and the body looked to, 'Tis all He;

When in the mirror of the heart the reflection of
His face appeared,
I so felt that in my body and soul 'Tis all He;
If thou tearest the garment of thy existence,
Thou wilt observe that under this clothing 'Tis
all He;
Not Manṣūr alone became intoxicated with the
wine of love,
The scaffold also told the rope the same tale,
'Tis all He;
The secrets of love the heart freely discloses and
is not afraid,
Since it has perceived that in what is hidden and
what is apparent 'Tis all He;
It is wrong if the impression of *we* and *I* is crea-
ted,
March past this impression, because *we* and *I*
'Tis all He;
Like the flutist who puts his lip to the mouth of
the flute,
He has put his lip to the mouth of the lovers,
'Tis all He;
What is the place of the wine in the cup, and
who is the cup-bearer?
Be silent Mu'īn and restrain thy breath, 'Tis
all He.

وله

در حمد

مرا در دل بغیر از دوست چیزے در نمی گنجد
بخلوت خانهٔ سلطاں کسے دیگر نمی گنجد
درونِ قصرِ دل دارم یکے شاهے که گر گاهے
ز دل بیروں زند خیمه به بحر و بر نمی گنجد
به صدرِ مسندِ هر دل خیالش کے زند تکیه
که مهرِ کبریائے او بهر منظر نمی گنجد
تنت گر چند موی شد حجابِ جاں بود ویرا
میانِ عاشق و معشوق موی در نمی گنجد
صفیرِ هاتفِ غیبی بگوشِ مرغِ جاں آمد
که در اوجِ هوای عشق بال و پر نمی گنجد
نفیِ ذاتِ خود بودن ز اثباتِ صفات اولیٰ
ترا افسر چه کار آید چو اینجا سر نمی گنجد
حسابِ عمرِ صد عاقل بمحشر بگذرد یکدم
حسابِ یکدمِ عاشق بصد محشر نمی گنجد
رموزِ عشق اگر خواهی ز لوحِ دل تواں خوانی
که حرفے از روایاتش بصد دفتر نمی گنجد
ز بحرِ عشق یک قطره ظهورِ سرِ منصوریست
بظرفِ همتِ عاشق ازیں کمتر نمی گنجد
بآں جامیکه من خوردم نهاں کے ماند اسرارم
شراب عشق در جوش است در ساغر نمی گنجد
معینی گر همی خواهی که سرش برزباں رانی
مقام آں سر دار است بر منبر نمی گنجد

In praise of God

In my heart none but my Friend doth enter,
In the private chamber of the King none but He doth dwell;
In the mansion of my heart I have a King Who, if ever,
Pitches His tent outside it, whom the sea and the land would not bear;
How could the thought of Him grace the daïs of every heart!
Because the signet of His grandeur does not suffer every sight;
The body however much it has thinned like the hair, still the veil of life is there,
Between the lover and the loved even a hair's difference would not do;
The call of the Divine Messenger came to the ear of the bird of life,
That in the height of the sphere of love feather and wing are of no avail;
The negation of one's self is better than the assertion of one's attributes,
Of what use to thee is the crown when there is no place for the head?
The account of the lives of a hundred sages will be settled in one breath on the day of Resurrection,
While that of one breath of a lover cannot be

dealt with even in a hundred Resurrections;
If thou desirest to learn the secrets of love, read from the tablet of the heart,
Since a single letter of the recitals of His love cannot be contained in a hundred volumes;
From the sea of love the revelation of the secret of Manṣūr is a drop,
Less than this is not possible for a lover's spirit;
With the cup of wine I have taken, how could my secrets remain hidden?
Love's wine is overflowing and is not contained in the cup;
Mu'īn, if thou desirest to bring His secret to the tongue,
The place for it is the scaffold:* this the pulpit cannot hold.

وله

در حمد

مگر صبا ز سرِ کوی دوست می آید
که از زمین و زمان بوی دوست می آید
چه رشکهاست که از یاد می برم هر شب
که روی او ز چه بر روی دوست می آید
ز کوی دوست چو عاشق کشیده دارد پای
کمندِ شوق هم از موی دوست می آید
وفا چگونه کند عقل و هوش بامنِ مست
از انکه جامِ هیا هوی دوست می آید

هر انچه آیدت از غیب نیک و بد منگر
همین بس است که از سوي دوست می آید
ازین مصائبِ دوران منال و شادان باش
که تیرِ دوست ز پهلوی دوست می آید
بیا به وعظِ معینی رموز عشق شنو
که از حکایتِ او بوی دوست می آید

In Praise of God

Methinks the breeze comes from the lane of the Beloved,
That the Universe is filled with the breath of the Beloved;
How jealous am I of my power of remembrance every night!
Why does it place its face on the face of the Beloved?
When the lover has withdrawn his feet from the lane of the Beloved,
An attractive snare is laid from the curly locks of the Beloved;
How could my senses remain faithful to me when I am intoxicated!
Since the cup of ecstasy comes from the Beloved;
Whatever comes to thee from Invisibility, do not look into its good or ill.
It is enough for thee that it comes from the Beloved;

Do not lament over these worldly troubles, but
be happy
That the arrow comes from the direction of the
Beloved;
Come to the preachings of Mu'īn and hear the
secrets of love,
Because from his speech comes the breath of the
Beloved.

وله

در معرفت

واقف آنست که دل واقفِ اسرار شود
مرد آنست که جاں طالبِ دیدار شود
گنجِ مخفی چو ببازار ظهور آمده است
عارف آں به که ز خلوت سوی بازار شود

. . . .

او در آئینهٔ من چهرهٔ خود می بیند
خود بدیں واسطه مطلوب و طلبگار شود

. . . .

قدرِ جوهر نشناسد مگر آں جوهرئے
که صدف بشکند و خود درِّ شهوار شود
پردهٔ آب و گِل از روی دل و جاں بردار
تا همه ظلمتِ هستئِ تو انوار شود

. . . .

هر که در بزمِ بقا جامِ بقا نوش کند
دست در حبلِ اناالحق زده بردار شود

عکسِ رخسارهٔ ساقی چو فتد بر رخِ جام
رو به میخانه کند زاهد و خمّار شود
هر کرا عقدهٔ زلفِ تو در آرد بکمند
بگسلد رشتهٔ تسبیح و بزنّار شود
این چه راز است که از پرده برون می افتد
تا دلِ بے خبراں واقفِ اسرار شود
یعنی آں لطف و عنایت که خداوندِ مراست
چه عجب باشد اگر بندہ گنہگار شود
چوں بپرسیدنِ بیمارِ خود آئی سحرے
تندرستاں همه زیں واقعه بیمار شود
تو بخوابی و سرت یار گرفته بکنار
چشم بختت بود آنروز که بیدار شود
هر که چوں نقطه نهد یک قدم از خود بیروں
اندریں دائرہ سر گشته چو پرکار شود
اینهمه بادہ که بر جانِ معین پیمودی
دلِ سر مستش ازاں نیست که هشیار شود

On Divine knowledge

Apprised of His knowledge is he whose heart knows the secrets,
That soul is the *soul* which becomes the seeker of the vision of God; .
When the hidden treasure has come to the open mart,
Blessed is the devotee who comes to the mart from his cell;

He sees His own face in my mirror,
Himself for this reason is the seeker and the sought;
The value of a jewel does not know but that jeweller,
Who breaks the shell (of his body) and himself becomes a precious jewel;
Lift the veil of dust and water from the face of the heart and soul,
So that all the darkness of thy existence be turned into light;
Whoever drinks the cup of Eternity in this assembly of existence,
He holds the rope of union with God and ascends the scaffold;
When the shadow of the face of the cup-bearer falls into the wine-cup,
Even a devotee turns his face towards the tavern and becomes a drunkard;
Whomsoever the curls of thy locks ensnare,
He breaks the rosary and takes to the *Brahmanical* cord;
What is this secret which comes out of the curtain,
That the hearts of the unmindful become aware of it?
That is to say, with that kindness and favour which my lord bestows on me,
It is no wonder if the slave becomes a sinner;

If thou comest on a morning to inquire after thy patient,
The healthy, wistful for this event, will all become sick;
Thou art asleep and thy head is placed in the lap of thy beloved,
It will be a fortunate day for thy eye when it will awake;
Whoever puts his step like the dot outside his *self*,
He wanders in this circle like the compass;
From the effect of all this wine that thou hast given to Mu'īn,
His drunken heart will not emerge.

وله

راه بکشای که دل میل به بالا دارد
پرده بر گیر که جاں عزم تماشا دارد
باز دل از شرفِ قصر ازل کرد نزول
باز پرواز کناں میلِ همانجا دارد
دلم از عینِ عدم رفته سوی قافِ قِدم
صعوه را بیں که هوس صحبتِ عنقا دارد
من اگر خود نروم او. کشدم جانبِ خود
هم ازاں سلسلهٔ عشق که باما دارد
گه بخود خواند و گاهے ز خودم می راند
آه ازیں غمزه که با عاشق شیدا دارد

حسنش اندر پس صد پرده چنیں جلوه‌گر است
وه ازاں روز که آں چهره هویدا دارد
گر چه از جای برون است و لیکن بخدا
که شب و روز در ون دل ماجا دارد
عاقبت چهرهٔ دلدار عیاں خواهد دید
هر که آئینه ز زنگار مصفا دارد
حسن آں ماه چو خورشید پدید است معین
محرم آنست که او دیدهٔ بینا دارد

Open the way, for the heart is inclined to soar
to the higher regions,
Lift the curtain, for the soul desires to come to
the *show*;
Again, the heart has descended from the heights
of the mansion of Eternity,
Again, soaring it has the inclination to go there;
My heart from non-entity has gone towards
Eternity,
Look at the small bird which desires to associate
with the phoenix;
If I do not go myself, He draws me towards
Himself,
It is because of the relation of love that exists
between Him and me;
Sometimes He calls me near Himself, and some-
times drives me away,
Woe to this coquetry which the Beloved shows
to the lover;

His beauty from inside a hundred curtains is well manifest,
What a happy day will it be when that Face will appear without a veil!
Although He is above place, yet I swear by Him
That He has His place within my heart day and night;
Ultimately he will see the face of his Beloved clearly,
Who keeps the mirror of his heart clean from rust;
The beauty of that Moon appears as bright as the sun, O Mu'in,
He knows it who has the eye to see.

وله

هر کسے را در ازل رزقے مقدر کردہ اند
وز برائے هر کسے کارے مقرر کردہ اند
عشق را آمیزشے دادند با جان و دام
پیش ازان کاب و گل آدم مخمّر کردہ اند
عاشقان را زین پریرویان بزنجیر بلا
اینچنین دیوانۂ زلفِ معنبر کردہ اند

....

ساقي باقی دهد در بزم جان جام طهور
هر دلے را کز غبار تن مطهّر کردہ اند
نی بکامِ دل همی گنجد نه اندر جامِ جان
بادہ کز بهر سر مستان بساغر کردہ اند

پر تو نور شهود افتاد در قصر وجود
کز شعاعش حجرۀ دل را منور کرده اند
یا رب این معنیِ جاں یا صورت جانان ماست
آنچه کز وی خانۀ دل را مصوّر کرده اند
عکس نور ذات بر مرآت جاں شد منعکس
زیں مرایا تیکه با حسنش برابر کرده اند
سر بسر ذرّات عالم مظهرِ انوارِ اوست
جمله را آئینه دار حسن دلبر کرده اند
جاں ز مهرش عاقبت بیروں پرد زیں دامِ تن
گرچه مرغ روح را بے بال و بے پر کرده اند
جاں که باشد تا کند عزم زمیں بوسی و لیک
ذرّه را سر گشتۀ خورشید انور کرده اند
گرچه شاهاں را به تخت و تاج زینت می دهند
جلوۀ مسکیں معیں بر تاج و منبر کرده اند

For every one they have ordained his provision,
And for each they have allotted a work;
They mingled love with the heart and the soul,
Before they prepared the clay of Adam by mixing water and earth;
They have enchained the lovers with the chain of distress—the chain of the fairies,
For this reason the lovers have become mad after the musky locks;
The Eternal cup-bearer gives the pure wine, in the assembly of the soul,
To every heart whose body's dust they have

washed off clean;
Neither is it contained in the palate of the heart nor within the cup of the soul,
The wine that they have poured into the cup for the drunkards;
A radiance of the light of His Manifestation has fallen on the *mansion of existence*,
From the rays of which they have illumined the cell of the heart;
O God, is it the hidden soul or the exposed face of my beloved?
What is that from which they have adorned the cell of the heart?
The image of the glory of His Being is reflected in the mirror of my soul,
Passing through all these mirrors which they have kept facing His beauty;
All the particles of the Universe are the expressions of His glory,
All of them have been made a *mirror-holder* to the beauty of the Beloved;
The soul in the end flies out of the net of the body on account of His love,
Although they have made the bird of the soul without wing and feather;
What courage has soul to kiss the earth? But the fact is that
Every particle is mad after the light of the effulgent sun;

Although the kings are exalted with the crown and the throne,
Yet the glory of poor Mu'īn shines over crown and mitre.

وله

من چگویم که مرا ناطقه مد هوش آمد
بر دام ضابطهٔ عقل فراموش آمد
سیل را نعره ازا نست که از بحر جداست
وانکه با بحر در آمیخته خاموش آمد
نکتها دوش دلم گفت و شنید از لبِ یار
که نه هرگز بزباں رفت نه درگوش آمد
شاهدِ غیب کشاد است نقاب از رخِ خویش
تو نهٔ محرم ازاں بهرِ تو روپوش آمد
زاهد از کوی مغاں پای کشیده امشب
بقدم رفته دراں کوچه و بردوش آمد
شبِ هجرِ تو که جاں از بدنم کرد و داع
روز وصلِ تو دگر باره در آغوش آمد
سخنِ تلخ که چوں مَی بلبت می گذرد
بر حریفاں همه زهراست و مرا نوش آمد
چه گهرهاست کزیں سینه بروں می ریزند
بحرِ اسرارِ الهی ست که در جوش آمد
هر کرا هوش و قرار است میش ده ساقی
که معینی ز ازل بیخود و مد هوش آمد

What should I say now that my power of speech has bewildered me,

The laws of wisdom have forgotten my heart;
The torrent roars, because it is separated from the sea,
The one united with the sea became silent;
Some thoughts of wisdom my heart uttered last evening: it heard them spoken from the lip of the beloved,
They were such as were never uttered by the tongue nor heard by the ear;
The Divine beloved has lifted off the veil from His face,
Thou art not a confidant: it is for this reason that He appeared with His face covered before thee;
The devotee has withdrawn his step from the lane of the Magis tonight,
He had gone there on foot, but returned on the shoulders of others;
It was on the night of separation from Thee that my soul left the body,
But it came back once again in my lap on the day of union with Thee;
Bitter words that pass like wine on thy lips,
They are poison to the rivals but honey to me;
What pearls are they that are thrown out of this breast!
It is the ocean of the secrets of God, which has grown stormy;
Whoever is sane and sober give him wine, O cup-bearer,

But Mu'īn has come intoxicated and drunk from Eternity.

وله

سوی من آ که ترا یارِ وفادار منم
هر چه داری بمن آور که خریدار منم
گر تو شادی و دلت عزم تماشا دارد
برِ من آی که باغ و گل و گلزار منم
و گر از رنجِ معاصی دلِ تو گشته ملول
سوی من آ که طبیبِ دلِ بیمار منم
بیدلی کم کن و از بیکسیِ خویش منال
که ترا در همه جا دلبر و دلدار منم
تو بهر معرکه از رازِ دلِ خویش مگوی
که بخلوتگه جان محرمِ اسرار منم
تا بیکے نقطه صفت دائره می بنمائی
تو چو مرکز بنشین گردِ تو پرکار منم
هیزمِ شخصِ معین سوخت چنان ز آتشِ عشق
که شدم اخگر و گفتم که مگر نار منم

Come towards me, for I am thy faithful friend,
Whatever thou hast, bring it to me, for I am its purchaser;
If thou art pleased and thy heart wishes to see the great feat,
Draw near me, for I am the garden, the flower and the flower-bed;
And if thy heart is grieved at the thought of thy sins,

Come towards me, for I am the physician of the
  sick hearts;
Do not be disheartened and do not weep at thy
  helplessness,
For I am in every place the cherisher of thy
  heart and a friend;
Do not divulge the secrets of thy heart at every
  strife,
For I am thy confidant in the secluded cell of
  thy soul;
How long wilt thou, like the point, make a circle
  round thee?
Sit like the centre, for I am around thee a com-
  pass;
The dry wood of the body of Muʿīn did so burn
  with the fire of love
That he became a spark, and said to himself:
"Methinks I am fire."

وله

صفات و ذات چو از هم جدا نمی بینم
بهر چه می نگرم جز خدا نمی بینم
مگو که دیدهٔ حادث قدیم کیَ بیند
همین بس است که من خویش را نمی بینم
ترا چو آئینه تیره است و چشم نا بینا
مخور فسوس که من هم چرا نمی بینم
زمن مپرس که آں ماه را کجا دیدی
چو من ز خویش برفتم کجا نمی بینم

بهر بلا که تو خواهی بیاز مای مرا
که در مشاهدۀ تو بلا نمی بینم
ز من بهر چه کنی یاد راضیم حقّا
که هر چه از تو رسد جز عطا نمی بینم
بهر طرف که مرا می بری بحمد الله
که خویش را ز تو یکدم جدا نمی بینم
عروجِ جانِ معینی بر اوج او ادنیٰ
بجز متا بعت مصطفےٰ نمی بینم

The *Self* and the *Attributes* since I do not see
them separate from each other,
On whatever I cast my glance I see nothing but
God;
Do not say that the mortal eye cannot see the
Immortal,
It is enough that I do not see my *self*;
Since thy mirror is unclean and thy eye is blind,
Do not be sorry that thou dost not see;
Do not ask me "Where did I see that moon?"
When I have gone beside myself, where do I
not see it?
With whatever calamity Thou wishest Thou
mayst try me,
For in seeing Thee I do not see calamity;
Whatever Thou desirest of me I am most willing,
O God,
Because whatever reaches me from Thee I see
nothing but a gift;

In whatever direction Thou carriest me I praise
Thee,
For I do not see myself separated from Thee
for a moment;
The ascension of the soul of Mu'īn to the height
of nearness to God,
Except in following the Chosen Prophet I do not
see.

وله

چو من از هستیِ خود دور باشم بخود هم ناظر و منظور باشم
چو جام و بادهٔ و ساقی مهیاست روا باشد که من مخمور باشم
ز جامِ وحدتم یک جرعهٔ بخش که در دارِ فنا منصور باشم
ازاں جامیکه چوں سرِّ اناالحق بر آید بر زباں معذور باشم
ز تاب عکسِ خورشیدِ حقیقت چو ذرّہ مظہرِ آں نور باشم
ندارد تابِ نورِ چشم خفاش هماں بهتر که من مستور باشم
ز شهرِ عشق می آید معینی عجب نبود اگر مشهور باشم

When I keep away from my *self*,
I am myself the beholder and the beheld;
When the cup, the wine and the cup-bearer are
at hand,
It is befitting for me to be intoxicated;
Give me a draught from the cup of Unity,
So that in this transitory world I may become
a second Manṣūr;
Give me from that cup with which the secret of
analḥaq (I am God)

May come upon my tongue, and I be excused;
From the light of the reflection of the sun of
  Reality,
I may, like the atom, become an expression of
  its glory;
The eye of the bat cannot bear the light,
It is better then that I remain hidden;
Mu'īn is coming from the city of love,
It were no wonder if he becomes famous.

وله

این درد که من دارم باکس نتواں گفتن
سوز دل عاشق را با خس نتواں گفتن
پیشِ دل خود گه گه دردِ تو همی گفتم
دل نیز رمید از من زین پس نتواں گفتن
بر دار دلم از تن تا صید کنم جاں را
شهباز همایوں را کر گس نتواں گفتن
بیمارِ لبِ لعلت بر بستر خوں خسپید
بالین غریباں را اطلس نتواں گفتن
تقصیر بسے دارم پیشِ تو ولے عیبم
در رویم اگر گوئی در پس نتواں گفتن
سرِّ غمِ عشقش را با خلق معیں کم گوی
احوالِ سلاطیں را با کس نتواں گفتن

This pain which I possess cannot be divulged to
  any one,
The burn of the heart of a lover cannot be dis-

closed to a straw;
Before my. own heart, off and on, I used to dilate upon thy love,
But the heart too was scared away from me; this tale hereafter cannot be renewed;
Pluck my heart from the body, so that I may hunt the soul,
The auspicious royal hawk cannot be called a vulture;
The one, sick for thy ruby lip, sleeps on a bed of tears of blood,
The pillow of the poor lovers cannot be said to be silky;
I have many shortcomings in my service to thee, but my faults—!
If thou sayst them in my face thou canst not tell them behind my back;
Mu'īn, speak little of the secrets of the pangs of thy love for him,
The affairs of the kings cannot be communicated to every one.

وله

دلا چو محرم آں دلبر یگانه توئی   قضا چو تیر بلا می زند نشانه توئی
و گر فروزد کانونِ عشق آتش شوق   شرارهٔ که بر یزد ازاں زبانه توئی
تنم چو دائره و نقطه درمیانه دلم   و یا چو دائره او نقطه درمیانه توئی
بگفتم از چه بهانه تو در حجابی گفت   وجودِ تست حجابِ من و بهانه توئی
همای عشق بدامِ حدوث کی گنجد   چو مرغِ خانگی در قیدِ آب و دانه توئی

چو حلقه منتظری بر در و نمی دانی   که طالبِ خودی و در درون خانه توئی
معین بر آی به منبر بگوی نکتهٔ عشق   که بلبلِ چمنِ عشق در زمانه توئی

O heart, since thou art the confidant of that unique beloved,
Of Destiny, when it shoots the arrow of distress, thou art the mark;
And if the furnace of love set the fire of longing ablaze,
Thou art the spark that it would give out;
My body is like a circle and the heart is its centre,
Else, my heart is a circle and thou art its centre;
I asked him, "What is the cause that thou dost remain within the curtain"? He replied,
"Thy existence is my curtain and thyself the cause";
How could the mortal net contain the phoenix of love!
When like a tame bird thou art living in a cage for food and water;
Like a circle thou art waiting at the door, and dost not know
That thou art thy own seeker and art present inside the house;
Mu'in, come to the pulpit and dilate on the subtlety of love,
Because in this age the nightingale of the garden of love art thou.

قصیدهٔ در حمد

حمدیکه همچو بحر کرم بیکراں بود
حمدیکه شکر نعمتِ هر دو جهاں بود
حمدیکه در تضاعفِ ذرّاتِ کائنات
چندانکه مستزاد کنی بیش ازاں بود
حمدی بداں مثابه که ادراکِ کنه او
بر تر ز پایهٔ خردِ خرده داں بود
حمدیکه چوں عماریِ عزت کند رواں
بر منکب ملائکه حکمش رواں بود
حمدیکه در هوای هویّت همای وار
بر تختگاه ملکِ قدم سائباں بود
حمدیکه ظلِّ را فتش ار بر کسے فتد
بر مسندِ مقاصدِ خود کامراں بود
حمدیکه چوں ز حیطهٔ جاں سر بروں کند
هر تار موی بر تن ازاں صد زباں بود
حمدیکه چوں قدم کشد از ضیقِ کن فکاں
جو لا نگهش بنا حیثِ لا مکاں بود
حمدیکه چوں زباں دهدش زیورِ بیاں
تحسینِ قدسیاں همه نعم‌البیاں بود
حمدیکه در هواش ملائک فگنده پر
آں خود چه جای حوصلهٔ انس و جاں بود
حمدیکه نه ملک کند انشانه انس و جاں
بل خود بذاتِ خود متصدّیِ آں بود

بادا نثارِ بارگهِ قدسِ کبریا
کاں مصعدِ محامدِ قدّوسیاں بود
آں حمد، ثنا قصیدہ بگویند بندگاں
کَی در خور خدای حقِ عزّ و شاں بود
لا احصی ست هست تحفهٔ خاصاں دراں جناب
ایں گفتگو چه لایقِ آں آستاں بود
در اوجِ کبریاش فگندست بال عجز
آں شاهبازِ قدس که عرش آشیاں بود
او بے نشانِ محض چه جوئی ازاں نشاں
هر ذرّہ بر خدائی او صد نشاں بود
چشمت چو نیست پردہ ز رخ کی بر افگند
صاحب نظر کجاست که او خود عیاں بود
آنرا که پرد ها ز نظر بر گرفته اند
در صد هزار پردهٔ دیگر نهاں بود
حقّا که کوششِ تو بجائے نمی رسد
گر بینشش ز جانبِ او هر زماں بود
سدِ وجود بشکن اگر مردِ ایں رهی
ورنه هزار ساله رہ اندر میاں بود
او بود در ازل متوحد که در وجود
جز وے نبود و تا به ابد همچناں بود
از مطلعِ وجود چو نورِ قدم بتافت
از ظلمتِ حدوث چه نام و نشاں بود
تا حسنش از دریچهٔ هستی نمود رخ
زیں گفتگو بهر سر کو داستاں بود

ز آئینهٔ وجود نماید بآب و خاک
آں صورتیکه معنیِ روحِ رواں بود
در نقطهٔ گاهِ خاک مبیں جز باعتبار
کاں مرکز محاذ ز هفت آسماں بود
اندر دهانِ خاک نهد نفس ناطقه
تا از زبانِ غیب ترا ترجماں بود
گنجیکه شاهِ عشق نهد در دلِ خراب
نقدِ دو کون در عوضش رایگاں بود
هر هفت دوزخ از تفِ دل یک شرارهٔ ایست
هر هشت خلد یک گل ازیں بوستاں بود
دیو و ملک بهٔ نقطهٔ دل در تنازع اند
چوں سعد و نحس کش بفلک اقتراں بود
عقل و هوا فرشته و دیوند در نهاد
با جسم و جاں نشاں بمثل تو اماں بود
جانرا مدد ز حکمت و تن را ز شهوت است
نقصانِ ایں مقوی و رجحانِ آں بود
کم خوردن است مایهٔ حکمت دراں قرای
سودِ دل است گرچه تنت رازیاں بود
تن مرکبے است بسته بر آخور ز بهرِ رزم
آں به که روز معرکه لاغر میاں بود
دل چیست دُرِّ بحرِ صفا واں کرا سزد
آنرا که چوں صدف همه تن استخواں بود
جاں چوں مسیح گر رهد از مهدِ مریمے
با روح قدس تا به فلک همعناں بود

هر کس که با بدامنِ همت کشد چو کوه
از تند بادِ حادثه اندر اماں بود
وانرا که دل بکف بود از مهر بهرِ دوست
دل همچو بحر باشد و کف همچو کاں بود
وانرا که دیده تر بود از آتشِ دروں
چوں ابر بر بساط جهاں دُر فشاں بود
در محنتِ فراق چو دل میرود ز دست
در لذتِ وصال ببیں تا چساں بود
از ذرّه ذرّه اش بچکد قطره قطره خوں
با هر دایکه عشق تو در امتحاں بود
هر مرهمے ز غیرِ تو بر دل جراحت است
زخمیکه از تو میرسد آرامِ جاں بود
یا رب بحقِ سیّد کونین مصطفےٰ [م]
کش جسم و جاں خلاصهٔ کون و مکاں بود
شاهیکه تختِ سلطنتش گر بروں زنند
قدرش فرازِ مملکتِ کن فکاں بود
آں خواجه کز حریم حرم تا فضای قدس
گاهِ عروج نه فلکش نرد باں بود
آں خرقه پوشِ فقر که بر درش عرشیاں
از گردِ دامنِ کرمش طیلساں بود
یارانِ اهلِ بیت که در دارِ ضربِ عشق
بر نقدِ دوستی رقمِ نامِ شاں بود
ز ایشاں شنیده ام که ز لطفِ تو بندگاں
هر چه گماں برند یقیں آں عیاں بود

نومید چون شود دل و جان امیدوار
جائیکه رحمت و کرم بیکران بود
دارد معین برحمتِ حق منتهای تو
امید ازان ز یاد که اندر گمان بود

He was the greatest lyric poet of his age. His style is exuberant and precise at once. His poems are a storehouse of transcendental thoughts beautifully ordered and forcefully expressed. There is always a sense of pious serenity and joy in his verses which are teeming with Divine Love.

His poetry reviewed: Comparison with H̱āfiẕ.

Of all the Persian poets of the S̱ūfī class, who wrote *ghazal*, like Sa'dī, Khusrau, H̱asan, H̱āfiẕ, Jāmī and others, his poetry closely resembles that of H̱āfiẕ. But his wine, tavern, cup-bearer and the object of adoration are at the first sight celestial, unlike the latter's wine, rose, nightingale and the tresses of damsels, which expose the poet to public jeer as being the greatest free-thinker and libertine of the day. None of these words, however, in the Khwāja's poetry have their material significance, but are pregnant with great spiritual truth and are symbolic of Divinity and Divine Love.[1] The young lovers invariably find a solace in H̱āfiẕ's poetry, be-

[1] Cf. his own statement:—

بیا بوعظِ معینی رموز عشق شنو که از حکایتِ او بوی دوست می آید

cause they read their own thoughts in his utterances. This is why H̱āfiẕ is more appealing and popular.

Much controversy exists on the point whether H̱āfiẕ's love is material or spiritual, and whether his roses are those of a flower-garden or they are only symbolic representation of Divine Beauty. The answer is that it is both. If we see and read H̱āfiẕ with the eye and brain of a worldly lover, we find it full of مجاز but if we look at it with the perspective of a S̱ūfī, there is much حقیقت in it. This is the dual characteristic of H̱āfiẕ. To those who hold that his love of God is expressed in terms of material love, his poetry provides real food, perhaps, more than does any other author after Rūmī. Sometimes, his language does not keep pace with his thoughts, and he becomes vague and hidden in the clouds of mystery. He paints, without distinction, every Divine and earthly thought in the light of human and worldly concept. Throughout his poetry he gives us a hint that he had so great a love for wine in his lifetime that he even desired the regular topers to attend his grave after his death. He, thus, works on our minds in such a way that by his love for wine we generally understand the wine made and sold as merchandise. Again, his longings for the Persian girl, *Shākh-i-Nabāt*, whom he remembers with the ardour of a lover, are too well known. His early life was a free unrestricted life. He professed S̱ūfīsm in his later age but, though he became a S̱ūfī, one

could conclude from his odes that he has given expression to earthly love and pleasures. When Mubārizuddīn Muhammad bin Muzaffar, who was a harsh and stern monarch, forbade the drinking of wine publicly in the streets of Shīrāz and ordered all the taverns to be closed, Hāfiz gave vent to his chagrin in many an ode[1]; but when Shāh Shujā' raised all those restrictions which were imposed by his late father on drinking and profligate life, Hāfiz became very happy

[1] Cf. his lament and denunciation in the following *ghazal*:—

اگرچه باده فرح بخش و باد گلبیز است
ببانگِ چنگ مخور می که محتسب تیز است
صراحئی و حریفی اگر بدست افتد
به عقل نوش که ایام فتنه انگیز است
در آستینِ مرقع پیاله پنهان کن
که همچو چشم صراحی زمانه خونریز است
زرنگِ باده بشوئید خرقها از اشک
که موسمِ ورع و روزگار پرهیز است
مجوی عیشِ خوش از دور واژگون سپهر
که صافِ این سرِ خُم جمله دُردی آمیز است
سپهر بر شده پرویزن است خون افشان
که قطرهٔ اش سر کسری و تاجِ پرویز است
عراق و پارس گرفتی بشعرِ خود حافظ
بیا که نوبتِ بغداد و وقتِ تبریز است

and expressed his gratification and joy in his poems.[1]

The Khwāja's poetry and personality, however, are above suspicion and they have no such mystery about them. He was a S̲ūfī from first to last and his early life and occupation are blameless. His allegory is clear and is nothing but a straight talk. He does not sing of the worldly love which is full of anguish, torment and passion, but consecrates his mind to the holy love which is sublime and unalloyed, and discloses the real secret of life and the meaning of our existence. He takes his readers along with him solely to spiritual ecstasy and gives them a peep into

[1] Cf. his exultation:—

سحر ز هاتفِ غیبم رسید مژده بگوش
که دور شاه شجاع است مَی دلیر بنوش
شد آنکه اهلِ نظر بر کنارہ می رفتند
هزار گونه سخن بر دهان و لب خاموش
ببانگِ چنگ بگوئیم آں حکایتها
که از نهفتن او دیگِ سینه می زد جوش
شرابِ خانگی از بیم محتسب خوردن
بروی یار بنوشیم و بانگِ نوشا نوش
ز کوی میکده دوشش بدوش می بردند
امام شهر که سجادہ می کشید بدوش
رموزِ مصلحتِ مُلک خسروان دانند
گدای گوشه نشینی تو حافظا مخروش

the ethereal world. The more impressive trait of his poetry is a sturdy spirit of independence which is lacking in others, including Hāfiz. He never cringed before any Prince for reward. In the whole range of his poetical composition, there is not to be found a single *ghazal* or *qasīdah* in praise of any magnate, not even the Sultān himself. He was the master of a most dignified and magnificent style, although *love* and *wine*, the common symbols of Persian poetry, are equally the dominating feature of his composition. In a word, the Khwāja's wine is truly depicted in the following verse of his :—

مرا از قدحِ بادۂ سر مدیست و زین بادہ مقصودِ من بیخودیست

The wine of Hāfiz is, however, uncertain; and though his poetry in manner and expression is exquisitely charming and sweet, it lacks the stamp and the fire of the Khwājah.

Sultān Mu'izzuddīn was a great patron of learning and Persian poetry. Badāūnī observes as follows :—

Literary patronage of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn bin Sām, surnamed "Shihābuddīn Ghōrī."

[1]و علماء و فضلاء و شعراء در زمانِ او بسیار تربیت یافتند

And in his time the learned, the accomplished masters and the poets received great patronage.

[1] Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 52.

From among the numerous poems addressed to him by the court poets, the following *qiṯ'āt* are here quoted, in which he is mentioned by name:—

سلطان معزّ دین شهِ غازی که در جهان
تیغش چو ذوالفقارِ علی مرتضیٰ رض شدست
سلطانِ حق محمّدِ سام آنکه خلق را
مهرش چو مهر و درستی مصطفیٰ شدست

ولہ

شاهِ زمانه خسروِ غازی معزّ دین کزوی فزود زینتِ تاج و کلاه را
اصلِ ظفر محمّدِ بن سام بن حسین آن حضرتش نشانه شده فرّ شاه را

The rise of the Slaves.

The slave dynasty had gained considerable power during the very lifetime of Sulṯān Mu'izzuddīn Ghōrī. It so happened that the Sulṯān, on his retreat to Ghaznī in 586 A. H., had nominated a favourite slave of his, Quṯbuddīn Aibek, to be his Commander-in-Chief and Viceroy of Indian possessions; and had deputed him against his adversary, Khandē Rāi, who was becoming a menace to Muslim power and rule in India. Khandē Rāi had defeated the Sulṯān's army in successive battles, and occupied the forts of Delhi and Meerut. Quṯbuddīn finally collected a large and well-equipped army, and led it successfully against Khandē Rāi and his allies in 589 A. H. The same year he advanced on Meerut and Delhi, and recap-

tured them along with other territories. In 593 A. H., the Sultān's brother, Ghiyāṣuddīn, ruler of Ghōr, having died at the capital, the Sultān, who was then at Ṯūs, hurried to Ghaznī, and, after settling the affairs of his late brother's kingdom, started once more for Lāhore in 600 A. H. to put down the *Khakkar* rebellion. He was received at Lāhore by Quṯbuddīn who had come on purpose from Delhi. The one noteworthy point, which emerges from history of interest to us, is that Persian men-of-letters had, at this time, volunteered themselves in considerably large numbers to accompany the Sultān's forces to India from Ṯūs, Nīshāpūr and the capital seats of Ghōr and Ghaznī, which were the resorts of the elite and poets of Persia. Many were actuated by religious fervour, while others aimed at gaining the favour of the Sultān, and reaping the benefit of his company, and to return home enriched with the spoils of war or settle down peacefully in the new home if convenient. This process assuredly kept up the same standard of Persian speech and poetic taste among the peoples of Hindūstān as was obtained during the time of Maḫmūd. The Sultān, after quelling the rebellion at Lāhore, returned to Ghaznī. On his way back, he was murdered by a *Khakkar* assassin on the 3rd of Sha'bān, 602 A. H., at Damyak, a place about seven miles from Ghaznī. The court poets in attendance composed off-hand the following chronogram giving the date of his

demise:—

شهادت ملکِ بحر و بر شهاب‌الدین   کز ابتدای جهاں هم چو او نیا یدیک
سوم ز غرّهٔ شعبان بود شش صد و د و   فتاده در رهِ غزنیں بمنزلِ دمیک

On the Sulṯān's death, the nobles of the court unanimously chose Quṯbuddīn Aibek to succeed his master, and seated him on the throne at Lāhore in 602 A. H. To greet him, Sulṯān Ghiyāṣuddīn Maḫmūd, a nephew of the late king, sent a special envoy from his capital Fīrūzkūh to Lāhore, with royal presents and a bejewelled ivory casket containing a Decree of formal recognition of the proud title of the *Sulṯān*. Aibek kept up the cultural tradition of his master. For his liberal patronage of Persian letters, which was manifest from the huge gifts of money to his poets, sometimes a *lac* (of rupees) for a single ode, he was called لک بخش (bestower of a *lac*)[1].

Quṯbuddīn's patronage of letters.

[1] Cf. the following quatrain by Imām *Malik ul Kalām* Bahā-'uddīn Ooshī, mentioning the Sulṯān's لک بخشش, and asserting that it was he who introduced into the wörld the practice of giving rewards of not less than one *lac* of coins to his poets:—

ای بخششِ لک تو بجهاں آورده   کاں را کفِ تو کار بجاں آورده
از رشکِ کفَ تو خوں گرفته دلِ کاں   بس لعل بهانه درمیاں آورده

(Ṯabaqāt i Nāṣirī, p. 138)

His death.

Qutbuddīn met his death while playing *chaogān* (polo) in Lāhore in 607 A. H. Among his successors, the most notable for literary patronage, more especially Persian poetry, were Sultān Shamsuddīn *Iltutmish*, popularly called *Altamash*, Sultān Bahrām Shāh, Sultān 'Alā'uddīn, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans[1]: the Junior and the Senior.

Qutbuddīn succeeded by Altamash.

After Qutbuddīn's death, his eldest son, Ārāmshāh, ascended the throne at Delhi in 607 A. H. But the nobles of the court desired the crown for Shamsuddīn, surnamed *Altamash*, who was a favourite slave and son-in-law of the deceased king. Consequently, a fight ensued between the two rival factions, in which Ārāmshāh was defeated and taken prisoner by Altamash, who duly proclaimed himself king, and caused the *Khutbah* and the coin to be read and struck in his name for the valid recognition of his kingship.

His title explained.

He was called *Iltutmish* which was dubbed as *Altamash* in the popular tongue. His birth had taken place at night exactly at the hour of the eclipse of the moon. The Tārtars generally called the child born

[1] A discussion on the progress of Persian literature under Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans is to be found in chapter V, dealing with Khusrau, Hasan and Barnī.

in such circumstances by that name. Hence this appellation.

It has been shown how the liberalities of the Muslim kings and their patronage of Persian letters had drawn the Persian intelligentsia from the distant corners of Persia, Bukhārā and the Trans-Caspian Provinces to Hindūstān. The same conditions of literary advancement and taste as obtained in the Ghaznavīd and the Ghōrī regimes continued under the Slaves as well.

Stimulus to Persian under the Slaves.

Among the poets who newly arrived from Persia at the Indian Capital in the reign of Altamash, there were many distinguished personages who had left their homes, being attracted by the superior patronage and taste of the Indian court. The one most noted poet was Nās̱irī who came from Khurāsān. He brought with him a marvellous *qas̱īdah* in praise of the Sulṯān, and recited it in the open court before a distinguished gathering of poets and scholars of the time. It began thus :—

Arrival of fresh bands of Persian poets:—
1. Nās̱irī.

ای فتنه از نهیب تو زنهار خواسته   تیغ تو مال و ملک ز کفار خواسته

O thou, terror of anarchy terrified has sought
shelter from thee,
Thy sword has wrested the territory and wealth
from the infidels.

It elicited the highest praise from the audience, and was much appreciated by the Sulṯān himself, who asked the poet to count its lines which were declared to be *fifty-three* in number. The Sulṯān, thereupon, ordered *fifty-three thousand* coins to be awarded to the poet as his reward. It is related that Nāsirī, on his arrival in India, went first to Khwājah Quṯbuddīn Bakhtyār Ooshī, *al ma'ruf ba* 'Kākī,' a learned Ṣūfī, who had accompanied Khwājah Mu'īn-uddīn Chishtī to India, and showed him the *qaṣīdah* seeking his *iṣlāh*[1] and benediction[2]. Nāsirī was the leading poet of Khurāsān, who came away to India, not because of his fondness for travel, as told by some Persian chroniclers, but because of superior appreciation and patronage of Persian poetry obtained in India as compared with Persia. Not only Nāsirī, but many other poets before and after him came down to India, and prospered under Indian patronage. Āẓar gives Nāsirī's full name as Khwājah Abū Nasr and his native place Mahnah, a Taḥṣīl in the district of Khurāsān. He was a direct descendant of the famous saint and Ṣūfī poet, Shaikh Abul Khair Abū Sa'īd, and had a gift for poetry. Some of his verses are found recorded in the Persian biographical works. The following *qiṯ'a* is quoted by Āẓar:—

[1] Siyar us Sālikīn, p. 51.
[2] Fawā'id ul Fuwād, p. 74.

از زود رفتنت همه روز است ماتمم   وز دیر آمدن همه شب ماتمے دگر
ترسم اگر حکایتِ غمهای خود کنم   غمگیں شوی ازیں غم و ایں هم غمے دگر

2. Amīr Rūhānī of Samarqand.

Another famous poet, Amīr Rūhānī Samarqandī,[1] who had settled in Bukhārā, came to India during the rise of Changīz Khān, whose onslaughts and savage treatment of the Muslim divines and men-of-letters had established a reign of terror in Central Asia. Rūhānī arrived in Delhi in 622 A. H., and was received in audience by the Sultān on the recommendation of the grand *vazīr*. The first impression that he created of his greatness as a poet was through his epic poems and *qasā'id* which he composed in praise of the Sultān, describing the latter's conquests of the Province of Bihār and the forts of Ratanbhūr and Mandū in the years 622, 623 and 624 A. H. respectively. He was profusely re-

[1] He is called by 'Aufī تاج الحکماء عطارد الثانی (the "Diadem of the Learned" and the "Second Mercury", cf.—

الاجل الافضل تاج الحکماء عطارد الثانی ابوبکر بن محمد بن علی الرّوحانی

(Lubāb, vol. II, p. 282)

Note:—The Persian equivalent for the Arabic عطارد is دبیر فلک, also called منشی فلک (the clerk or the *Munshī* of the sky). The planet Mercury, which is associated with *learning*, is represented as the Chief Secretary of the sky, who is responsible for all correspondence.

warded by the Sultān for these poems which were both historically and poetically important. Some specimen verses are cited below:—

خبر به اهلِ سماء بُرد جبرئیلِ امین   ز فتحنامهٔ سلطانِ عهد شمس الدین
که ای ملائکهٔ قدس آسمانها را   بدین بشارت گوئید کلمهٔ آمین
که از بلادِ ملاحد شهنشهٔ اسلام   کشاد بارِ دگر قلعهٔ سپهر آئین
شهِ مجاهدِ غازی که دست و تیغش را   روانِ حیدرِ کرّار میکند تحسین

واله

قصهٔ خویش از زبانِ قلم   کرده ام یاد در بیانِ قلم
رقمِ رنج گوئیا بود است   بر خطِ عمرِ من نشانِ قلم
با قلم تا قرین شدم بجهان   روزِ من گشت چون جهانِ قلم
ناگهان با نگارِ دفترِ من   زان درشتی کند سنانِ قلم
که بآوازِ نرم می ماند   نالهٔ زارِ ناگهانِ قلم
گرچه پیوسته درمیانِ ضرر   داردم نفعِ بیکرانِ قلم
آخر احوالِ من نگوید کس   پیشِ صاحب مگر زبانِ قلم
خواجه منصور بن سعید کز اوست   تیز بازارِ امتحانِ قلم
آن بزرگی که دارد از لفظش   بارِ انصاف کاروانِ قلم
چون بنان را سوار کرده بود   مرکبِ او خجسته رانِ قلم
زو کفایت کند رکابِ گران   پس بگیرد سبک عنانِ قلم
هر هنر عقل را چو بگمارد   آشکارا کند نهانِ قلم

3. Tājuddīn Dabīr[1] of Delhi.

The third poet of repute among the court poets of Sultān Altamash was Tājuddīn Dabīr who was a native of Delhi. His grandfather had come down to India during the reign of the last Ghaznavīd king, Khusrau bin Malik Shāh, and had joined the royal army. The young poet's father was born at Delhi, soon after the arrival of the family in 580 A. H. Among his ancestors no one was gifted with poetic taste like him. He lived till after the death of Sultān Ruknuddīn Fīrūz Shāh whose praises he sang in his *qaṣā'id.* He wrote several poems in commemoration of the conquests made by Altamash. The following *rubā'ī* was composed off-hand when the Sultān laid siege to the fort of Gwalior which fell in 630 A. H., after seven months' stubborn resistance:—

هر قلعه که سلطان سلاطین بگرفت   از عونِ خدا و نصرتِ دین بگرفت
آن قلعهٔ کالیور و آن حصنِ حصین   در ستمایة سنه ثلثین بگرفت

On this occasion, other poets of the court also presented poems, but the Sultān liked this *rubā'ī* most, and rewarded the poet with *seven bags* of silver coins. The Sultān further ordered that the quatrain be inscribed on a red marble which should be affixed to the main gate of the fort to commemorate

[1] *Note:*—The author of the "*Siyar us Sālikīn*" styles him Tājuddīn Shams Dabīr, and says that he was a teacher of Niẓāmuddīn "Auliyā", the famous saint of Delhi.

the date of the event. Tājuddīn's poems in praise of the Sultān's successor, Fīrūz Shāh, have also been referred to by historians. Of those extant, the following *qasīdah*, of which only the opening lines are here cited, is noteworthy for its elegance and impressiveness:—

مبارکباد ملکِ جاودانی　　ملک را خاصه در عهدِ جوانی
یمین الدوله رکن الدیں که آمد　　درش از یمن چوں رکنِ یمانی

Sultān Ruknuddīn Fīrūz Shāh: Shihāb Mehmarah of Badāūn, the *poet-laureate* of the court.

After Altamash, his son Ruknuddīn ascended the throne of Delhi with the title of Fīrūz Shāh. The most famous poet of his reign was Shihābuddīn Mehmarah of Badāūn, whose *qasā'id* rivalled those of the leading poets of Persia like Farrukhī, Khāqānī, Anwarī and others. Amīr Khusrau, the king of poets, was proud of Mehmara's exalted intellectual power, and paid a glowing tribute of praise to his memory in several *qasā'id* of which one is as follows:

در بدایوں مهمره سر مست بر خیزد ز خواب
گر بر آید غلغله مرغانِ دهلی زیں نوا

Mehmara's *qasā'id* are an eloquent testimony to India's genius and achievement in the art of Persian composition. Those preserved in the biographical works are, for the most part, ethical and spiritual, and are unsurpassed in sublimity of thought,

forcefulness of expression and grandeur, which are the essentials of a *qaṣidah.* It appears that 'Urfī, on his arrival in India, did, in his *qaṣā'id*, follow Mehmara's style of writing and trend of thought. Mehmara's nobility of character and his indifference to worldly success did not make him stoop to kings and sing their praises for money. The same spirit was shown by 'Urfī who, though he came away to India from Persia in search of fortune, did not take to panegyric like other poets, nor did he dote on Princes and the nobles of the court recklessly seeking reward.[1] The ideals of life and riches of mind pervading in Mehmara's *qaṣā'id* are abundantly found

[1] It is to be noted that 'Urfī in his poetical career in India wrote several panegyric poems in praise of the following *four* persons, whose patronage made him independent of others:—

1. Prince Jahāngīr, cf.—

صباح عید که در تکیه گاهِ ناز و نعیم

2. Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ, cf.—

چهره پرداز جهان رخت کشد چون به حمل

3. 'Abdurraḥīm Khān i Khānān, cf.—

ز آسمان و زمین مژده ناگهان آمد

and 4. Akbar, the Great, cf.—

ای دلِ معنی سرشتت رازدان آفتاب

He called panegyric poetry *beggary*, and did not adopt it as a regular profession.

in 'Urfī also, who subsequently wrote *qaṣā'id* of the same length. Of Mehmara's *qaṣā'id* three are quoted here in full by way of specimen and contrast. The first is in praise of God and the Holy Prophet with a pun on the words موی and مور—a unique and clever device invented by the author. It is full of technicalities, which is a special feature of Khāqānī's writings:—

قصیدہ در حمدِ باری تعالیٰ عز اسمہٗ
و در نعتِ پیغمبر گوید

از زباں گرچہ شگافم موی هنگام بیاں
در ثنای حق ز حیرت همچو مورم بے زباں
در پی زنجیر مویاں پریر و از هوس
بستہ ام بسیار چوں موراں ز دل جاں بر میاں
وز برای مور چشماں شکر لب در خیال
سفتہ ام موی سخن صدرہ زروی امتحاں
تا ذخیرہ با شدم چوں مور اندر مدح او
مو دو نیمہ کردم و یک موند ید از کس نشاں
بعد ازیں چوں مور بندم بر در بیچوں کمر
وز بنِ هر موی تو فیتش کشایم صد زباں
کی کشایم بے زباں چوں مور و چوں ماهی دهن
بلکہ از هر مو زبانے سازمش گوهر فشاں
زیں خطِ چوں مور و لفظِ شکریں از روی نظم
موی بشگافم بتوحیدِ خدای غیب داں

آں خداوندی که برصنعش بهر موی گو است
هرچه هست از مورو مارو وحش و طیر و انس و جاں
آں یکی از روی هستی نه از عدد کاندر دو کون
نیست بر علمش پیٔ موری سرِ موی نہاں
لطفش ار موری فتد بر بیضهٔ موری ازاں
صد جم آید هر یکی صد هم چو جم در یکزماں
قہرش اریک موی بر پیلی گمارد پیل ازاں
بیند آں کز مور بیند بچهٔ شیرِ ژیاں
می نگنجد عقل را موی دریں از بهر چیست
زادهٔ شیرِ توانا زادِ مورِ ناتواں
نیست با حکمش سرِ موی مجالِ اعتراض
ور دهد ملکِ سلیمانی بمورے رایگاں
بوده از حکمش موافق شکل شیر و مورچه
گشته از صنعش مخالف رنگِ موی استخواں
گر دد از فضلش کزو هر موی دارد آگهی
آید از عدلش که بر هر مور آید پاسباں
خاک در کف کیمیا و آب در دریا گهر
مور در چشم اژدها و مو بر اعضا چوں سناں
ای بقدرت موی و خون و استخواں را نقش بند
ای بروزی مرغ و مورو مار و ماهی راضماں
با تنِ هر مور عدلت را حسابے بے غلط
بر سرِ هر موی فضلت را سپاسے بے کراں
عینِ فضلت پای مردِ رزقِ هر مورو ملخ
دستِ لطفت رنگریز موی هر پیر و جواں

خانهٔ صنعت نماند انچه هست آثار او
بر تنِ هر مور پیدا بر بسرِ هر مو عیاں
خال بر چهرِ عروساں چوں نقط بر آینه
موی بر روی شہاں چوں مورچه بر ارغواں
گر سنه در رهٔ بامرِ تست مور بے شکم
سیر بر تن از عطائے تست موی بے رواں
آنکه موئی سر نه پیچد از درت بر در گہش
گشت مورِ بے زباں چوں سوسارِ مدح خواں
در رهت چوں مور بدٌ بے خواب و بے خور لاجرم
ماه را چوں مو دو نیمه کرد از تیغ بناں
آیتی چوں صبحِ صادق مو شگاف اندر کلام
امتش بر کژ دمانِ دیں چو موراں کامراں
هفت اندامِ چو سیمِ چرخ گشتی مورچه
چوں بر افگندی ز مشکیں مو بپایش طیلساں
بدٌ چو موراں بر زمینش در طریقِ فقر زیست
زاں کم از موی مژه آمد بچشمش آسماں
اندراں موضع که پر چوں مور افگندی ملک
گر سر موی نهادی پای پیش از آشیاں
مو صفت اندر شفاعت از سبک روحی چنانک
از پئی موری سرِ موئی برو نامد گراں
بر خطا رفت ار پئی موری نمودش معذرت
بے عطا ماند ار سرِ موی نشد هم داستاں
یک سرِ مو اندراں شب دید نورانی سرای
هم چو مورش سر برآمد در هوای لا مکاں

دیده اندر لقمهٔ چربِ جهاں موی فنا
راهِ معده بست همچوں مور زیں پرورده خواں

زله برداری پیٔ مورانِ دیں زانساں که ماند
بر سرِ هر موی زاں لقمه نشانِ جاوداں

صانعا هر موزبانے کرده ام لیکن چو مور
در ثنات از بے زبانی می کنم در دل فغاں

کرده روشن کز بدی چوں تار موی چشم مور
بے جوارِ رحمتِ تو نگذرد ایں کارواں

هم چو مور و مو در آب و آتشم زیرا که نیست
ایں شکر ریز ضمیرم در خورِ ایں آستاں

پای کوشش در رهت چوں موی دارم در رکاب
تا زمن یک موی می ماند نگر دانم عناں

چوں کشاید یکسر موی از قبولت بسته ام
کی کمر بندم چو مور از پیشِ حرصِ این و آں

گرچه از دستِ هوا چوں مور گشتم پایمال
یکسر موی ندیدم جز ز تو سود و زیاں

چوں ز تست ایں خوشدلم گرچه پریشانست و تنگ
دل چو چشم مور حالم همچو موی داستاں

مور اگر پای ملخ آورد پیشِ جم شهاب
آمد از سر بر درت بسته چو موی پای جاں

مورِ خوانِ لطفِ تو صالح نمود ایں ره بدو
یاریش ده زاں پل چوں موی بر آتش اماں

بر سرِ هر موی او صد لطف داری زاں سبب
زو دل موری نیاز ارد بموی در جهاں

خصمِ ملکِ شاه را بابِ نگاهش دار بد
همچو مو در آتش و چون مور در آبِ رواں

The second in praise of thc Holy Prophet is as follows :—

قصیدهٔ غرا در نعتِ پیغمبر صلی اللّٰه علیه وسلم
گوید

الفم بلوحِ هستی همه هیچ در نشانی
ببقای غیر قایم ز وجودِ خویش فانی
صفِ آخر ایستاده بامید به نشینی
ز تحرک آرمیده بصفاتِ بے نشانی
صفتِ الف ندارم که الف کسر ندارد
همه نقشِ من کسر است ز صحیفهٔ امانی
دمِ بلبل است و گل خوش من بے خبر چو سوسن
چو الف زباں ندارم چه کنم به ده زبانی
چه بگیرم آرمیده چه دوم بسے دویده
چه ببینم آشکارا چه روم رهِ نهانی
فلک از زمیں بحیلت نشناسم ارچه هستم
چو فلک بچهره کردی چو زمیں بناردانی
نه چو آبم از طراوت نه چو آتشم ز رفعت
نه چو بادم از لطافت نه چو خاکم از گرانی
نه ازیں چهار طبعم نه به چار یار کنیم
فضلاتِ پاره گیتی زده لافِ پارکانی

خردم چو تن گرفته صفتِ خطا ستائی
طبعم چو کوه بسته کمرِ عطا ستانی

شده وقفِ راهِ حرصم ز حقیقت آیتی نه
زده رحمتِ مثالب رهِ رحمتِ مثانی

طبعم فریفت ز انساں که ببرد از نهادم
حرکاتِ خُمس خواری برکاتِ عُشر خوانی

گهرم چو جسم خالی ز تفکر و تذکر
بصرم چو شمع مائل بغوانی و اغانی

سخن آبدار خواهم ز زبان همچو تیغم
قلمم نموده دهره ز پئ دوناں ستانی

سخن آب شد که آتش شد ازیں حدیث آری
بود ایں همه کم آبی ز هوای پیش نانی

منم آں خسے کم از کم که بحبه نیز ارزم
دگرم جوے بدانی نخری برا یگانی

عجب ای شهاب از تو که ز سلطنت دریں راه
نه امیرِ هفت خانه نه سوارِ هفت خوانی

نه فرشتهٔ نه شیطاں ز کدام کار گاهی
نه مقیم و نه مسافر ز کدام آستانی

دل و عقل سر کشیده ز گزندِ کورخانه
برِ سینه بر نهاده بپرندِ کورخانی

ز هوس بروی عشرت شده مستِ لا ابالی
ز هوا براهِ تهمت زده گامِ کامرانی

درِ عقل نیک بسته غم ناز لاله عارض
رگِ دیده خوں کشاده پئ جامِ ارغوانی

عفنِ هوا مثالی ز منِ زمین نظیری
گہرِ عرض بقائی صدفِ تہی دھانی
بودم چو برقِ سوزاں بد و نیک را فسونی
ز دل چو سنگِ خارا تر و خشک را فسانی
ز ہوس بطبع گرداں چو فلک بہ نقشبندی
ز صبا بہ حرص پویاں چوں صبا بہ ناتوانی
غمِ ہفت و چار در دل زدہ ہر دم از رعونت
درِ صد ہزار حینت بادلی یکد وکانی
چو زمین کثیف دایم سخنت بماہِ گردوں
نرسی بسیرِ ملکی ز مقامِ پاسبانی
تو خود از سرِ بطالت نرسیدہ یکزماں ہم
ز نقیضۂ زمانہ بفریضۂ زمانی
ز صلاحِ اہلِ دل ہا خبریت باد یکرہ
کہ دریں دو کون یاری بفساد داستانی
کژی از دلِ تو زاید چو تکبر از سفاہت
بدی از تنِ تو خیزد چو تہور ازغوانی
نمِ کوزۂ ریائی دمِ کورۂ جفائی
گُلِ روضۂ ہوائی گِلِ حوضۂ روانی
بحضور جاں گدازی مگر از تفِ تموزی
بہ عصید برف ریزی مگر از دمِ خزانی
تو بشبہہ طفل طالب ہمہ عمر نقش باطل
ز خیال کرد پیرت غمِ دہر در جوانی
ہوس است شعر و بحرش چو سراب زابِ خاکی
نفس است رنج و ذوقش بہ از آبِ زندگانی

هوست چو جمع گردد شود آں خیال بازی
نفست چو نظم یابد بود آں گہر فشانی

هوسی خیال تا کے نفسی گہر فشاں کن
بہ ثنای آنکہ اول خردش ندید ثانی

شہِ تخت کی محمّد کہ سرادِقِ شرف زد
بسوی درِ مہیمن ز سرای اُمِّ ہانی

بشری مَلَک لطافت فلکی زمیں تواضع
چو فلک بہ پاک جسمی چو مَلَک بہ پاک جانی

گہریکہ بود جایش بخزانۂ الہی
قمریکہ تافت نورش ز سپہرِ جاودانی

گہریکہ قیمتی تر زو جودِ او نیامد
بدلالتِ عناصر ز محیطِ آسمانی

قمریکہ ہر سحر گہ چو شبِ سیاہ گیتی
ز خجالتِ عقیقش رخِ کوکبِ یمانی

شکریں زباں رسولے کہ بود نجاتِ امت
بہ قصیدۂ زبانش ز عقیلۂ زبانی

گہریں بیاں فصیحے کہ فصاحتِ بیانش
چو ضمیر کاں کند خوں دلِ گنجِ شایگانی

ز جمالِ عارضش کم رخِ آفتابِ شرقی
ز قوامِ قامتش خم قدِ سروِ بوستانی

بحساب بر گرفتہ رہِ مالکُ الرقابی
بکلام بر کشادہ درِ صاحبُ القرانی

جذباتِ شوقِ باطن بمکاشفت کشیدہ
ز بسیطِ کائناتش بمحیطِ لا مکانی

بنوید دوست جانش شده مست بر امیدش
پسر ابو قحافه زده قحف دوستگانی

ربطی بنا فکنده سخنش قضای حق را
شده از پی سیاست عمرش بعدل بانی

قدم سیوم درین ره ز پیش نهاده مردی
که نزد غرور راهش بمتاع این جهانی

شده رکن چار مینش علی آنکه بد گه کین
ز شعاع ذوالفقارش رخ مهر زعفرانی

ملکا بحق یاران که مرا بیاری خود
ز بلای یار نادان همه عمر وارهانی

زمن آنکه این قصیده طلبیده باد جانش
چو قصیده ام مزین بجواهر معانی

A specimen of his panegyric poetry is to be found in the following *qaṣīdah* which was written in praise of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, with characteristic resourcefulness and pun on کرگ, گرگ , فیل and شیر :—

قصیدهٔ غرا مرصع
در مدح سلطان رکن الدین فیروز شاه
بالتزام چهار چیز کرگ و گرگ و فیل و شیر می فرماید

هر زمان این کرگ و گرگ و فیل و شیر و طفل خوار
آن کند با من که پیل و کرگ وقت کارزار

آسمان پیلگون مالد تنم را کرگ سان
روزگار شیروش صبرم رباید گرگ وار

زورِ کرگم نیَ و با من تند پیلِ آسمان
شیر مردی میکَند چون کهنه گرگِ روزگار

پیل با کرگ آن نکرد و گرگ با میش انچه کرد
شیرِ چرخ از جور با این شخص چون موی نزار

حیلتِ گرگست و زورِ کرگ با شیرِ فلک
زان همیشه بر دلِ من درد بارد پیل وار

پیلِ مستت این سپهرِ گرگ موی کرگ پوست
مردم ار شیرِ نر است از وی بر آرد هم دمار

چرخ کرگ انداز شیر افکن ببازی گر چو گرگ
پیشِ جانِ رستم آرد پیل بندے استوار

گرگِ صدرم بفکند بارانیَ از وی همچو شیر
کرگ وارم بسپرد گر پیلِ این نیلی حصار

شیرِ شرزه پیلِ فربه گرگ سیرت می کند
جوشنِ صبرم چو چرمِ کرگ سازد تار تار

دوش چون شد نیلگون شیرِ فلک در چرمِ کرگ
سر برون زد یوسف از گرگانِ گردون بے شمار

جانِ من در دستِ شیر و پای کرگ درد بود
تا ز چرخِ پیل پیکر شد دُمِ گرگ آشکار

چنگِ شیر و شاخِ کرگ و اشکِ پیل و موی گرگ
گرچه در تعویذِ دل بندی بکار است این چهار

کیَ کند سود مر خواصِ شیر و کرگ و گرگ و پیل
چون زمن زر پیل بالا خواهد آن سیمین عذار

حملۂ کرگ و دلِ شیر و دمِ گرگم چو نیست
می روم با پیل بار غم باستقبال یار

در دهانِ شیر و پای کرگم و این گرگِ پیر
دار دم پر اشک پیل از عشقِ یارِ چون نگار
یار با شمشیر و قبضه کرگ پویان همچو گرگ
من چو پیلم بر پئی او با تنی مانندِ تار
بعد گرگِ جوشنِ کرگِ سپهر پیل گون
شیر گیر چرخ پیدا شد چو شمعِ شهر یار
رکنِ دنیا شاه پیل افگن بگرز شیر سر
کز سمندِ کرگ پویش کار بر گرگست زار
دیدهٔ گرگِ فلک از شیر گرزش رنگ رنگ
کوههٔ کرگِ زمین از پای پیلش غار غار
پیل پیکر گرزش از گرگان کند بیشه تهی
کرگ پویه چنگش از شیران ستاند مرغزار
دور باشِ دسته کرگش در دلِ گرگِ سپهر
گرگ همچون پیل پایش کرده شیران را فگار
از سرِ ژو پین شیرِ گرز او بر گرگ و پیل
آن رسد کز تیغ روئین تن بجانِ کرگسار
ای ز شیرِ گرزِ کرگ انداز پیل آسای تو
گور بر کرگین بسانِ چاهِ بیژن تنگ و تار
عکسِ تیغِ نیلگونت گر زند بر شیر و کرگ
دیده چون عناب گر گانی کند شانرا چو نار
بادِ شیر را یتت بر خاکِ عالم چون و زد
گرگِ مست از پیل و گرگ از میش خواهد زینهار
چونتو گرزِ پیل پیکر گر گدائی بفگند
شیر دندان گرگ ناخن زهره کرگ و مهرمار

کرگ حمله گرگ پویه شیر زهره پیل تن
رخشِ تست ای یل غلامت همچو رستم صد هزار
خسروا در مدحِ تو بر گرگ و کرگ و شیر و پیل
گشته ام نادر بامرِ صاحبِ چرخ اقتدار
پیل تن شیر افگنِ گرزت اگر خواهد دهد
گرگ را چون دمِّ کرگس بر سرِ گردون قرار
آن وزیری کز برای گو شمالِ گرگِ چرخ
دل نهاده همچو کرگ و پیل و شیر از اضطرار
بے فسونِ گرگ و زورِ کرگ عزمش می زند
بر سر پیلانِ کرگ در دیده شیرانِ شرار
خورده در ملکِ تو شاه از پیل بندِ حزم تو
شیر ظلم و گرگ مکرو کرگ فتنه زینهار
ای قدر قدرت بفرمان وی که از فر تو شاه
چون قضا بر کرگ و گرگ و شیر و پیلی کامگار
چرم و شاخ و موی و اشک از کرگ و گرگ و شیر و پیل
در رهِ جان و دل و طبع و زبان آید بکار
از برای جوشن کفشت سپهر گرگ خوی
اشک و چرم از پیل و شیر و کرگ چون کرد اختیار
بر تو این گرگِ کهن از پیل و شیر و کرگ ازان
چرم هدیه پوست تحفه آورد دندان نثار
گرگ ماده چپ دهد شیرِ نری را در شکون
گر بهٔ پیشِ پیل کرگ اندازت آید در شکار
پیل بخشا در بدایون بایدم ویرانهٔ
گرچه جای گرگ و کرگ و شیر باشد این دیار

تاکه شیر و پیل باشد در مهابت همقدم
تاکه گرگ و کرگ باشد در مکابت یک شعار
خصم گرگ افسونت ای کرگ افکن و پیل استناد
باد پیش شیر دهلیزت میان خاک خوار
همچو شیر و پیل و گرگ و کرگ در گر مابها
دشمنان بے جان شده بر آخر سنگین قطار

After Fīrūz Shāh, his sister, Raẕiyah Sulṯānah ascended the throne at Delhi in 634 A. H. During her short regime, civil strife afforded her little opportunity to pay any serious attention to the advancement of literature and to watch its growth under her patronage. Nevertheless, scholars and poets thronged the *Darbār*, which ensured the development of Persian culture which was steadily permeating the very soul of India. Her rule was marked by the short-sighted and spendthrift policy of her counsellors, which offended the rank and file of the army and the civil services. But the chief factors which were responsible for her dethronement and imprisonment were not, however, so much her administrative faults as her openly showing favours to a slave named Yāqūt, and her discarding *purdah* and appearing in public in man's dress on ceremonial occasions. This caused wide-spread resentment in the counrty, and turned the *'Ulamā* and the influential nobles against her.

Raẕiyah Sulṯāna's regime.

Sultān Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, son of Altamash: Progress of historical literature and poetry during his reign.

She was succeeded by three successive rulers who all met the same fate one after the other, until the crown passed to Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, son of Altamash, in 644 A. H. His reign is chiefly noted for the progress of historical literature and munificent patronage of Persian poetry. On his accession to the throne, a new coinage was struck and the *khutbah* was read in his name in accordance with the established practice of succession. The court poets in attendance wrote congratulatory poems to commemorate his coronation. Of the many poems composed and read, the following by the famous poet and author of the *Ṭabaqāt* is here quoted by way of specimen:—

[1] آن شهنشاهی که حاتم بذل و رستم کوشش است
ناصرِ دنیا و دین محمود بن التتمش است
آن جهانداری که سقفِ چرخ از ایوانِ او
در علوِّ مرتبت گوئی فر و دین پوشش است
فرقِ فرقد سادر است و دست و پای دولتش
فرِّ تاج است و نگین و زیبِ تخت و بالش است
سکّه راز القابِ میمونش چه انداز است فخر
خطبه راز اسمِ همایونش چه مایه نازش است

[1] Tabaqāt i Nāṣirī, p. 202.

راحتِ دلهاست روحِ عهدِ او با روحِ خلق
بندگیِ دودمانش زانکه در آمیزش است
چاکرِ ایوانِ او هر جا که ترک و تازکی
بندهٔ فرمانِ او هر جا که هند و گبرش است
وارثِ ملکِ بحق دیدش ز سلطان شمسِ دین
هر که از انصاف در چشمِ بصیرت بینش است
دولتش حساد را در هر زمان صد شومت است
صولتش احباب را در هر مکان صد رامش است
گرچه بشکفتش گلِ دولت ولے از صد یکی
چون نهال است او که باغِ ملک را نو بالش است
تیغِ زنگاریش چون شنگرف ریز آمد مطیع
شاخ و برگِ نقشِ عمر دشمنان در ریزش است
از نهیبِ زخمِ گرزِ گاؤ سارش بین که چون
راکبِ شیرِ فلک در لرزه و در تابش است
تا نوای بزمِ ملکش راست شد زیر اوفتاد
حاسد اندر چنگِ غم چون زیر زان در نالش است
کاه گشت از انقلابِ جورِ باد ایمن چو کوه
در پناهِ عهدِ عدلش چون که هر آرامش است
ای شهنشاهے که ذیلِ عفو و دستِ بذلِ تو
مجرم و محتاج را هم پوشش و هم پاشش است
بیست سال است تاکه منهاجِ سراجِ خسته را
در دعاگوییِ این حضرت فرازِ پاشش است
از برای نصرت و تائیدِ شاه و بندگانش
در و غادر کوشش است و در دعا در خواهش است

محورِ چرخِ جلالت باد خاکِ در گهت
تاکه خاک و چرخ در آرامش و در جنبش است
گردشِ اهلِ زمین بر وفق فرمان تو باد
تا بروجِ آسماں گردِ زمین در گردش است

Tabaqāt i Nāsirī.

A most important historical work, written in India during his reign and dedicated to him, was the *Tabaqāt*, which was called after his name *Nāsirī*,[1] by the grand Qāzī of Hindūstān, Abū 'Umar bin Muhammad al Minhāj Sirāj Jauzjānī. It begins from the earliest times and concludes with his reign during which the author lived. The portion which deals with the author's age is particularly valuable inasmuch as it throws ample light on the events of this period which, but for this work, would have remained much in darkness.

The author's grandfather, Minhājuddīn 'Uṣmān, popularly known as Imām Auhad Bukhārī, was a man of great piety and learning. He had, in his later life, settled in Sistān where he breathed his last. The author's father, Minhājuddīn Sirāj, who was equally a distinguished scholar and a most eloquent speaker in Persian, held the high office of the *Qāzī*

[1] Cf:— و این تاریخ در قلم آمد و بالقابِ همایوں و اسمِ میموںِ او
موشح گشت و نامِ این طبقاتِ ناصری نہادہ شد —
(Ibid, p. 4)

of the army of Hindūstān for over eleven years under Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Sām. Our author's birth took place in about 590 A. H., and the present work was undertaken by him in 657 A. H., and completed in a little less than two years' time towards the end of 658 A. H.

The author of the *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār* places our historian among the great Ṣūfis and the learned divines of the age, and states that the famous saint of Delhi, Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn *Auliyā*, used to attend the Qāẓī's sermons regularly every week, and find much spiritual food in them.[1] It is a peculiarity of this work that it was written by a pious man

[1] Cf:—

صاحبِ طبقاتِ ناصری بزرگ بود و از فاضل روزگار از اهل وجد و سماع بود – چون قاضی شد این کار استقامت گرفت – شیخ نظام الدین می فرماید که من هر دوشنبه در تذکیر او برفتمی تا روزے در تذکیر او بودم این رباعی بگفت :

لب بر لبِ لعل دلبران خوش کردن
واهنگِ سر زلفِ مشوش کردن
امروز خوش است لیک فردا خوش نیست
خود را ،چو خسی طعمهٔ آتش کردن

من چون این بیت شنیدم بیخود گو نه گشتم ساعتے بایست تا بخود باز آمدم –

(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 80)

of learning who found it worth his while to devote his time and energy to a chronicle of this nature. European critics generally consider it to be a most trustworthy record in existence, and the integrity and care with which the events have been described have impressed them very much. Captain Nissau Lees observes:—

> What is related is, doubtless, taken from the authorities considered most trustworthy at that early period, authorities some of which are no longer extant; and it will be interesting and satisfactory to this society to hear that the author supports their opinion of Baihakī as a historian.

The same view of his work is held by Sir H. M. Elliot, Major H. C. Raverty and other scholars.

The poets of the court:— 1. Minhāj Sirāj, the historian, a prominent poet.

Among the poets of the court, Minhāj Sirāj, the historian, occupies a prominent place. He wrote poetry both in Persian and Arabic. His knowledge of the latter can be estimated from the following specimens of prose and poetry:—

Specimens of his Arabic compositions:—
(*i*) Prose

[1] الحمد لله الاول الذی لا ابتداء لوجوده – الآخر الذی لا انتهاء لجوده – الملک الذی لیس لملکه زوال – الدائم الذی لا یکون لسلطانه انتقال – والصلوٰة علی من ختمت برسالته مصارع باب النبوة و فتحت بجلالته مشارع کتاب الفتوة والسلام علی آله الناصرین لدین الاسلام و اصحابه الکاسرین للاصنام و سلم تسلیما کثیر اکثیرا –

[2] الحمد لله المحمود بکل لسان – المقصود بکل جنان – المعبود بکل مکان – المسجود فی کل آوان – والصلوٰة علی محمد المصطفی المبعوث فی آخر الزمان – صلی الله علیه و علی آله و اصحابه خیر آل و اخوان –

(*ii*) Poetry

[3] الدین فی غبطة و الملک فی جزل والتاج والتخت فی حلی و فی حلل
و کم اقیم بحد العصر من صغر و کم اسد بصرف الدهر من خلل

[4] قد صادف الرضوان ایام الوری من روح هذا البزم للسلطان
لازال یبقی فی جلالة ملکه و مزید امکان و رفعة شان

Persian composition:—
(*i*) Prose

The whole of the *Ṯabaqāt* is a good example of his Persian prose. A few lines from the beginning as well as from the middle of the book are cited below by way of illustration of his style:—

[1] Ṯabaqāt, p. 1.
[2] Ibid, p. 5.
[3] Ibid, p. 2.
[4] Ibid, p. 319.

[1]اما بعد چنین گوید بندهٔ دعاگوی مسلمانان الناصر لاهل السنة و الجماعة الداعی الی الله تعالیٰ ابو عمر عثمان بن محمد المنهاج سراج الجوزجانی عصمه الله تعالی عن الزلل و التوانی که چون فیض فضل آفریدگار تعالی و تقدس تاج و تختِ سلطنتِ ممالکِ هندوستان و بالشِ مسندِ اقالیم اسلام را بفرِ تارکِ مبارک و یمنِ پای گردون سای خدایگانِ عالم — سلطانِ سلاطینِ ترک و عجم — مالکِ رقابِ ملوکِ امم فرمانِ فرمای ابناء آدم — ناصر الدنیا والدین — غیاث الاسلام و المسلمین — صاحب الخاتم — فی ملکِ العالم — ذوالامان لاهل الایمان — وارثِ ملکِ سلیمان — ابوالمظفر محمود بن السلطان التمش یمین خلیفة الله قیم امیرالموءمنین اعلی الله سلطانه — و خلد برهانه و عظم شانه — و ادام لحرز الاسلام امانه — آراسته و مزین گردانید — و خطبه و سکه بحلیهٔ اسم و لقبِ همایون آن پادشاه زیب و زینت یافت — و ایوانِ شاهی و میدانِ پادشاهی بشعاعِ طلعتِ خورشید لقاش نور و بها گرفت — و پرِ توِ آفتابِ سلطنتش از مطالعِ بختیاری بر اطرافِ گیتی مستظهر گشت — و نسیمِ صبای عهدِ مبارکش ریاحینِ امن و امان در چمنِ بساتینِ جهان بشگفانید و سران و سرورانِ جهان گوشِ جان را بقرطِ طواعیتِ درگاهِ گردون پناهش مقرط گردانیدند — و گردن کشانِ گیهان رقبهٔ عبودیتِ را در ربقهٔ امتثالِ او امر و نواهی حکمش کشیدند — و زبانِ زمان و بیانِ جهان بلبل آسا بر شاخچهٔ ثناء این نو اسرائیدن گرفت —

[2]و کاتبِ این حروف منهاج سراج در رجب سنه اربع و عشرین و

[1] Ibid, p. 1.
[2] Ibid, p. 172.

ستمایة از طرفِ غور و خراسان بهلادِ سندهه و اچه و ملتان رسیده بود و در غرهٔ ربیع‌الاول سنه خمس و عشرین و ستمایة سلطان سعید شمس‌الدین طاب ثراه بپای قلعهٔ اُچه رسید و ملک ناصرالدین قباچه بدر حصارِ امروت لشکرگاه داشت و تمام بحر و کشتی ها با بنه و اتباع لشکر دران آب بر کشتی ها پیش لشکرگاه بسته که روز آدینه بعد از نماز از طرفِ ملتان مسرعان رسیدند و خبردادند که ملک ناصرالدین ایتمر مقطع لوهور بپای حصارِ ملتان آمد و سلطان شمس‌الدین از راهِ تبرهنده روی بطرفِ اُچه دارد ملک ناصرالدین قباچه منهزم در کشتی ها با تمام لشکر خود بطرفِ بهکر رفت و وزیر خود عین‌الملک حسین اشعری را فرمان داد تا خزانهٔ که در قلعهٔ اُچه است بطرفِ قلعهٔ بهکر برد و سلطان شمس‌الدین مقدمهٔ لشکر خود دو ملکِ بزرگ را بر سرِ لشکرِ خود بپای اُچه فرستاد یکی ملک عزیزالدین محمد سالاری که امیر حاجب بود و دوم کزلک خان سنجر سلطانی که ملکِ تبرهنده بود و بعد از چهار روز سلطان تاب ثراه با باقی لشکر و پیلان و بنه بپای قلعهٔ اُچه رسید و لشکر گاه نصب کرد و وزیرِ دولتِ خود نظام‌الملک محمد جنیدی و دیگر ملوک را در عقبِ ملک ناصرالدین بطرفِ قلعهٔ بهکر فرستاد و مدتِ یکماه در پای حصارِ اُچه جنگ فرمود روز سه‌شنبه بیست و هشتم ماهِ جمادی‌الاولی سنه خمس و عشرین و ستمایة قلعهٔ اُچه بصلح فتح شد —

Poetry:—
(i) qiṯ'a

Of his numerous *qiṯ'āt*, the following he wrote in praise of the Sulṯān on the occasion of his coronation:—

[1]دعای دولتِ او گوی زانکه بےکوشش   جهاں بدولتِ او آنچناں شد آباداں
که بیخِ سوسنِ سیمیں همی کشد خنجر   که شاخِ گلبنِ زریں همی زند پیکاں

The following pertains to his own historical work:—

[2]هرچه کردم سماع بنوشتم   اصل نقل و سماع گوش بود
در گذارد خطا چو دید کریم   زانکه با عز و عقل و هوش بود
هرکه او ذوقِ مهتری دریافت   نزدِ صبوش صبر چو نوش بود
دامنِ عفو پروریش مدام   در رهِ حلم عیب پوش بود
بدعا یاد داردش منهاج   گرچه اندر قفس خموش بود

The following was written on the occasion of the coronation of Sulṯān Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh:—

[3]زهی در شانِ تو منزل ز لوح آیاتِ سلطانی
ببیں در رایتِ شاهی علاماتِ جهانبانی
معزالدین والدنیا مغیث‌الخلق تا خلقی
سلیماں سانت در فرمانست هم انسی و هم جانی
اگر سلطانیِ هند است ارثِ دودهٔ شمسی
بحمدالله ز فرزندان توئی التمش ثانی
چو دیدندت همه عالم که بر حق وارثِ ملکی
درت را قبله گه کردند هم قاضی و هم دانی

[1] Ibid, p. 2.
[2] Ibid, p. 4.
[3] Ibid, p. 191.

چو منهاجِ سراج این است خلقان را دعائی تو
که یا رب بر سریرِ ملکِ دولت جاودان مانی
به عهدت راست چون نیزهٔ چنان گردد همه عالم
که جز در قطرهٔ پر چم نه بیند کس پریشانی

The following is in praise of Khān i Muʿazzam, Ulūgh Khān:

[1] شهرِ یارِ جهان الغ خان آنکه — خانِ البرزیست و شاهِ سمک
هرکه از حضرتش قبولی یافت — پیش هرگز نگشت رو بفلک
پیش او کیست حاتمِ طائی — نزدِ او چیست یحییِ برمک
کرده از لوحِ خاطرِ منهاج — غصهٔ د هر را باحسان حک
بشنود این سخن زمن همه خلق — از طریقِ یقین نه از رهِ شک
نود و نه مراست قسم کرم — دیگران را همه ازان صدیک
هر دعائی که گویمش از جان — کند آمین آن بصدق ملک

(ii) qasīdah

Of his several *qaṣā'id* written in praise of the Sulṭān, the following are noteworthy:—

[2] شاه را چون نام خویشش عاقبت محمود باد
نصرت و تائیدِ حق با عزمِ او مشدود باد
دوستان را زی بقا و دشمنان را زی فنا
نفع و ضر در بخشش و در کوشش موجود باد

[1] Ibid, p. 453.
[2] Ibid, p. 204.

در جهان بابِ اماں از عدل او مفتوح باد
باب بیدآدی به عهدش مغلق و مسدود باد
چوں حسودش شد بطالع از فلک منحوس ورد
طالع او در پناهِ ایزدی مسعود باد
سفرهٔ ملکِ جهاں را دودهٔ او شمع بس
چهرهٔ اعدای او در دید ها چوں دود باد
اهلِ ایماں را ز چتر و رایتش امن و اماں است
سایه بان دین حق اند ظلِ شاں ممدود باد
مقصدش بر فضلِ حق چوں تکیه گه دارد مدام
بے توقف شاه را حاصل همه مقصود باد
خاتمِ سرش چو نقش عدل و احساں یافته است
شاهدِ بختِ جواں بر تاجِ او مشهود باد
دولتش بر مدتِ احمد مبارک آمده است
ملک محمودی به میمونی مسلم زود باد
داعيِ این سلطنت منهاج را ورد این دعا
تاکه باد و خاک و آب و آتش است موروِد باد

The following poem was read in the public *darbār* at Delhi on the occasion of Sulṭān's victory over his adversaries gained by his general, Ulūgh Khān, and the reception held in honour of the emissaries from Turkistān:—

[1]زهی جشنی کز و اطراف چوں خلدِ برین گشته
خهی بزمی کز و اکناف عدلِ راستین گشته

[1] Ibid, p. 319.

ز ترتیبِ نہاد و رسم و آئین و نشاطِ او
تو گفتی عرصهٔ دهلی بهشتِ هشتمین گشته
ز فرِّ ناصرالدین شاه محمود بن التتمش
ملک نزدش دعا خوانده فلک پیشش زمین گشته
شهنشاهی که در عالم بفیض فضل ربانی
سزای چترِ شاهی لایقِ تخت و نگین گشته
چو خاقانانِ کین آور چو سلطانانِ دین پرور
بدل ماحیِ کفر است و بجان حامیِ دین گشته
مبارک‌باد بر اسلام این بزمِ شهِ عالم
کزین ترتیب هندستان بسے خوشتر ز چین گشته
مهین از جمله شاهان باد هر بنده ز درگاهش
چو منهاجِ سراج از جان دعاگوی کمین گشته

Another poet of great merit was "Malik ul Kalām" Amīr Fakhruddīn 'Amīd Naunakī who may easily be reckoned among the greatest *qaṣīda*-writers of the age. His *qaṣā'id* which survive show the grandeur and resourcefulness characteristic of Anwarī and Khāqānī, the two leading poets of Persia. Like the latter, he had almost given up panegyric poetry in his later days, and taken to Ṣūfism, singing the praises of God, the Holy Prophet and the bliss of contentment and celestial love. Some of his *qaṣā'id* by way of specimen and contrast are cited below:

2. Amīr Fakhruddīn 'Amīd Naunakī, "King of Poets".

در حمدِ باری تعالی

بر خیز عمید ار نه فسردست دلِ تو   بگذر ز غزل حمدِ خداوندِ جهان گو
مداحیِ درگاهِ خدا کن که بر افراشت   بی زحمتِ آلات بسی گنبدِ مینو
دو شاه روان کرد برین طارمِ ازرق   پس داده ز سیارهٔ شان خیل زهر سو
صد شاهدِ اختر بکهِ شام سوده   مشاطهٔ صنعش ز پسِ پردهٔ نه تو
فرموده بخاتونِ جهان از شب و از روز   دو خادمِ چالاک لقب رومی و هندو
بی هیچ دوکاندار به دوکانچهٔ گردون   آویخته یک خوشه بد و کفه ترازو
صنعش بسرِ کوه برو یانده شقایق   در باغ دو انده کرمش سوری و راهو
گاه از سرِ پرکار کرم نقشِ دهن بست   گاه از قلمِ لطف نگاریده دو ابرو
روز از کرمش گشته همه رخ بسفیدی   شب نیز ز صنعش بسیاهی همه گیسو
شاهانِ مجازی ز سرِ بندگیِ عجز   مالیده پیٔ آب بخاکِ درِ او رو
هر ماه بمیدانِ فلک دار دمه را   گه چون خمِ چوگان و گهی بر صفتِ گو
آن داد گری کو بکهِ داد همیشه   نازرد گهی شخصِ کس از ظلم سرِ مو
اورا که ز خونِ دلِ انگور غذا داد   فرداش سیه روی کند چون رخِ آلو
تیهو بسرِ پنجه بصد باز در آید   گر چند سرِ مور دهد زور به تیهو
بخشید نسیمِ سحر از لطفِ عمیمش   هر چین و خطا را شرف از نافهٔ آهو
بشنو زمن ای یار چو توحید شنیدی   پندی که ازو باز شود گوشِ من و تو
هان تاندهی گوش بآوازِ رگِ چنگ   هان تانکنی رای صراحی دلِ آجو
آنانکه بدینسان سرِ خوش داشته با یار   امثالِ تو زان جمله نگوئی که یکی گو
خود هر سحری بین که بدین لطف گواه است   بر شاخِ چمن فاخته از گفتنِ کو کو
بر خاک فکن چشم که تا ریخته بینی   بس یارِ نکو روی بسی دلبر خوش خو

شو باز عمیدا بسر رشتهٔ توحید در عقدِ مناجات در آویز چو لو لو
ای داور دارار جهان‌دار که هستی بی روح ابد زنده و بی کام سخن گو
از حکم تو پیدا شده از نفس سه دختر بی زحمتِ دردِ زه و بی واسطهٔ شو
با حکم قدیم تو چه کسری و چه قیصر در پیش قضای تو چه خاقان چه هلاکو
بی امر تو یک مور بعمدا نزند دم بی علم تو یک خفته نگو داند پهلو
گرچه صفتِ چنگ شوم کور و نگونسار در بزم امیدِ تو زنم پردهٔ یا هو
آنروز که از هیبتِ تو جمله در آیند ارکان نبوت ز سر یا به دو زانو
یا رب بکرم بر منِ بیچاره به بخشای کز معصیت آلوده ام و غرقه بهر سو

ولہ فی نعت النبی صلی اللّٰہ علیہ وسلم

سخنے طرازم اکنون که طراز آستینش
ز طرازِ جان بجوید چو طرازِ آفرینش
رهِ طرزِ تو گزینم ز طرازِ نعت یکره
که دو کون شد کتابه ز طرازِ آستینش
گلِ روضهٔ نبوت که ز سنبلش بما چین
تحفی بروں زنافه نبرد صبا ز چینش
سرِ کائناتِ عالم که بپای همتِ او
چو صدف نثار برده فلک از دُرِ ثمینش
خلکش ز پنج نوبت دو علم سه پایه کرده
ز تنو رهٔ مسدس بحصارِ هفتمینش
بنگینِ جم ندیده ز سرِ کرشمه جز عشق
که ز ماه تا بماهی شده مهر بر نگینش

قدر و قضاش راعی اجل و امل موافق
زمن و زمانش داعی ملک و فلک رهینش
لبش انگبین و گل رخ چه مفیدِ عالمی شد
خفقانِ معصیت را مددِ گل انگبینش
دهنِ صدف پُر از دُر ز کلام دَر مزاجش
کمر افق مرصع ز درازیِ یقینش
کفِ معشرِ یقین را همه یسر در یسارش
رخِ سالکانِ دین را همه یمن در یمینش
صفحاتِ هفت گردون نقطیست از وَجودش
دو جهان بجوی همت عرقیست از جبینش
بزبانِ سوسمارش رقمی بداز سجلش
ز نسیجِ عنکبوتی تتقی بد از قرینش
بسپهر مه گریبان نظرش بیک اشارت
چو فواره زد دو نیمه دلِ ماه نازنینش
بوفا نطاق بسته زو حوش تا طیورش
بدرود لب کشاده ز شیوخ تاجنینش
گل و خار در ریاحین ثمری ز مهر و لطفش
شکر و شرنگ هر دو اثری ز مهر و کینش
چمن از نثارِ خلقش چو بنفشه رخ شخوده
اثر کبودی اینک بعذارِ یاسمینش
تنِ او ز روحِ قدسی که شفاء روح انسی
نرسد بطینتِ او که ز نور شد عجینش
چو براقِ برق سرعت برکابِ او در آمد
ثعبانِ چرخ برزد چو هلال عطفِ زینش

رخِ رقعهٔ زمین را چو سپرده ره نوردش
بمثابهٔ قدم زد که شد آسمان زمینش
کرهٔ سپهر تو سن به جنیبتش روان شد
ز هلالِ نعل داغی زده ماه بر سرینش
کرمِ جبلتش بین که ز بهر ما بعقبیٰ
شده اَمتی سرایان دلِ زین قبل حزینش
خرد از چهِ ضلالت بعنایتش بر آمد
بطنابِ جلِ عصمت که خطاب شد متینش
دلِ حاسدانِ سگ جان چو زبانِ سگ کشیده
به سنانِ آب داده اسد اللّٰه از غریمش
کرمی چو مور صفصف برهی چو موی بویان
بمثالِ برق لامع ز فروغِ شمعِ بینش
گرهی چو موی رفته بخمیر آتش از پل
که میان چو مور بسته چو مخالفت بکینش
برخِ بساطِ صدقش زوغا که برزند سر
که بچرخ باز ماند بمراد کعبتینش
طبقاتِ آسمان را که به قطب شد مسمر
شده هفت رکن ثابت بچهار همنشینش
هم ازین چهار نجمش چو قرانِ هر دو سعدین
مه و مشتری مقارن بقرانِ هر قرینش
بد و گوش چار عنصر چه خوش است گوشوارم
زدو قرط هشت جنت بدو نور چشمِ بینش
رصدِ عمید گشته سرِ چار سوی نعتش
که مگر رواج گیرد سخنِ غث و ثمینش

به نسب چه نازم اینجا که نیازمندم از دل
بشفیع روز محشر که گز یدحق بدینش
ز طرازِ نعت سحرم چه حلال می نماید
چو مئی که حرفِ صفوت ز پیاله شد معینش
ز طبرزد و حدیثش لبِ طوطیان شکر چین
خور خوانچهٔ فصاحت خودست ریزه چینش
چه کسم چه طوطیم من که کنم سخن سرائی
من و انگهی ثنایش مگسی و بس طنینش
دمِ طوطیانِ جانم نفسی مباد خالی
ز ترنمِ ثنایش ز نوای آفرینش

وله فی التوحید

منکه چون سیمرغ در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام
ماورای مرکز خاکی نشیمن کرده ام
ننگِ هر مرغی درین بوم از چه معنی می کشم
رفته ام عنقا صفت در کوه مسکن کرده ام
مرغِ همت تا نگردد خرمنِ سفلی گر ای
خرمنِ چرخش ز انجم پرز ارزن کرده ام
مه چه خرمن می زند چون دانه ننماید بکس
من به اشکهای مروت چند خرمن کرده ام
نو عروسِ بکرِ معنی را بنور معرفت
در شبستانِ خرد چون روز روشن کرده ام
سیرِ اجرامِ سپهر از جدولِ تقویم کن
برد رنج ناطقه یک یک مبرهن کرده ام

در لگامِ چار حلقه کاں ستامِ عنصریست
بس ریاضتها که من بر نفسِ توسن کرده ام
طوطئِ جاں را که قالب گلخن مستوحش است
هر نفس دستاں سرای سیرِ گلشن کرده ام
شد بگلشن طوطی و زاغ هوا را بر اثر
گرد بر گردِ طبیعت وقفِ گلخن کرده ام
در بسی فن اهلِ حکمت را گراں رغبت نبود
من دراں صد گونه ره چون مردِ یک فن کرده ام
گنجِ حکمت را ضمیرِ من چراغ افروز شد
در فتیلش تا ز نور عقل روغن کرده ام
گوهرِ اسرارِ معنی شد چناں حاصل که من
خاطر از گنجینهٔ اسرار مخزن کرده ام
روزی از راهِ رعونت در گلستانِ هوا
جلوهٔ حکمت چو طاؤس ملون کرده ام
شاهبازِ غیرتِ حق از کمیں زد پنجهٔ
زاں کبوتر وار در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام
ره دریں یک برجِ بے روزن نمودندم ولی
من بهمت ره بروں از هفت روزن کرده ام
بر جی انکه چوں دلم بل کز دلِ من تنگ تر
رشته ام گوئی مکاں در چشمِ سوزن کرده ام
برجِ قوس است این و من خورشید ساں بر عالمی
نو بهاری را ز آهِ سرد بهمن کرده ام
این نه بس آهنگر آوردم نویدِ بختِ بد
گفتمش بر گردن از خونی بگردن کرده ام

مسندِ خورشید زرّین تخت می زیبد مرا
حال را من تکیه بر کرسیِّ آهن کرده ام
در گریبان سر فرو برد اژدهای هفت سر
تا من این مارِ دو سر در زیرِ دامن کرده ام
بندِ بیژن می کنندم عرض در چاهِ ستم
نی منیژه دیدم و نی جرمِ بیژن کرده ام
صبر بازوی تهمتن دارد از روی قیاس
قوتِ مخلص ببازوی تهمتن کرده ام
همدمانم هر یکی در شغل و من در بندِ حبس
حاش لله زین سخن تنها گنه من کرده ام
کار بر عکس است ورنه خود که روزِ بد کشد
شغل اشراقی که من بر وجهِ احسن کرده ام
ناوکِ چرخِ ستمگر بگذرد روشن ز پشت
گرچه روی صبر را از سینه جوشن کرده ام
تن غذا خواهست در بندِ غم و من را تهش
شربت از خون و کباب از دل معین کرده ام
یک زبان بودم چو لاله در شکایت بعد ازین
خویشتن را بعد ازین مانندِ سوسن کرده ام .
چون بنفشه سر به پیش افکنده از قحطِ کرام
هم چو سوسن ده زبان از مدحت الکن کرده ام
کیفرِ لب می برم کز گفتنِ مدحِ دروغ
هر گدائی را شه و اشهب ز لادن کرده ام
گه سهارا بر فروغِ ماه رجحان داده ام
گاه دریا را کم از فیضِ غویزن کرده ام

دوستی با حرص کردم چون عمید از آز خون
زاں قناعت را بروی خویش دشمن کرده ام
طبع آتش پای را از دست بے آبی چرخ
زیر حمل محنت اکنون بیں چه کودن کرده ام
خاطر معنی طراز و طبع گوهر زای را
گر چه دیری شد که ی قطران سترون کرده ام
هستم این یک شعر دیوانی و صد درج گہر
بلکه هر بیتش به از شعر ملون کرده ام
حبس برمن شیون آورده است و از لطف سخن
سور دیدستی که من در عین شیون کرده ام
یا رب از نخل کرم برگ و نوای من بده
مرغ جاں را چوں بتوحیدت نوازن کرده ام
خلعت امنم کرامت کن که مارا در گہت
مامن اصلیست اینک قصد مامن کرده ام
دور دار از ظلمت شرک و نفاق و حقد و کین
باطنی کز نور اخلاصت مزین کرده ام
آفتاب معرفت در سینه ام تا بنده دار
چوں گہر های یقیں را سینه معدن کرده ام

وله قصیده در مدح سلطان سنجر

زهی ز نرگس مست تو پر خمار آهو
ز بند نافهٔ مشک تو شرمسار آهو
بحیر تست دراں چشم دیدهٔ نرگس
بغیر تست دراں زلف مشکبار آهو

بگردِ بوستاں صدرہ چو دایرہ بر گشت
ندید چون خطِ تو یک بنفشه زار آهو
چه صنعت لست دراں نرگسش که آں غمزہ
درونش صیدِ دلست و بروں شکار آهو
ز رشکِ نقطهٔ مشکیں که بر گل تو چکد
مدام دارد در سینه خار خار آهو
ضرورت است که با ایں دو صورت مفتون
کند حمایت زلفِ تو اختیار آهو
حدیثِ عنبرِ زلفِ تو تا رسیدہ بدو
فکند قصهٔ نافه در اختصار آهو
ز چشمِ مست تو بودش خمار و می شکند
ز جامِ بزمِ جهان پهلواں خمار آهو
خجسته شیرِ کمیں تاجِ دینِ حق سنجر
که شرزۂ فلکش هست در شمار آهو
صواب دید که سوی خطا ز خاکِ درش
برد شمامهٔ کافور یادگار آهو
مگر بخاکِ جنابش که دید زینش خور
که بر و حوش شد از نافه کامگار آهو
زهی شهابِ خدنگی که از تو دیو دلاں
حذر کنند که از ضیغم‌الحذر آهو
مخالفی که بچنگت در اوفتاد نرست
ز چنگِ شیر که دید است رستگار آهو
چو فخر کرد بجنگِ تگاورت ایں دم
مسلم از تگِ خود داشت است عار آهو

بوقتِ حمله غباری که خیزد از سمِ او
کجا رسد بتکلف بدران غبار آهو
عجب مدار گر از غایتِ عنایتِ او
پیاده یوز رود زین سپس سوار آهو
بجنبِ لخلخهٔ خلقِ تو چه باز کند
بخون سوختهٔ ناف در تتار آهو
ز عونِ لطف چو تریاکِ تو ندارم باک
اگرچه رنگِ غذا خور شود زمار آهو
غذاش ارقم و پس چون گوزن جز تریاک
بعوضِ نافه کند هر طرف نثار آهو
به عرصهٔ که توئی ازو فورِ انصافت
غمین نشسته در و یوز و غمگسار آهو
بروزِ عزمِ تو ننمود جز که شانهٔ راست
چو از یمین صفت راند بر یسار آهو
باعتمادِ تو گر پرورد عجب نبود
ز مشفقی بچهٔ شیر درکنار آهو
چه پای دارد باکبرِ تو دو صد دشمن
بچشم یوز چه سنجد صفِ هزار آهو
عدو برزمِ تو وقتی رسد که با شرزه
عیان کند بسرِ شاخ کارزار آهو
بمرتعِ کرمِ تو سرین و پهلوی آن
ندیده هرگز چون ساقِ خود نزار آهو
جهان کشایا بستم بامتحان چو شتر
بگردِ مدح تو برسی و سه قطار آهو

ردیفِ مدحِ تو صد بارہ زیبد آهوی مشک
ز مکرمت چو فرستادہ ام دو بار آهو

بنافه داشت ازین پیش کاربار اکنون
ز فر مدحِ تو دارد رواجِ کار آهو

کشادہ نافهٔ حکمت عمید در مدحت
چو نافهٔ که بر آں کرد افتخار آهو

همیشه تاکه سرِ ناف بر زمیں جستن
ز خاصیت نه نهد هیچ نافه دار آهو

کمالِ عدلِ تو جائے رسیدہ باد مدام
که یوز را شود از طنز ناف خار آهو

بباغ بخت گذارندہ باش و ناز ندہ
چو در بهار در اطرافِ مرغزار آهو

The ingenuity and force with which this *qaṣīdah* in praise of Sulṭān Sanjar is written are noteworthy. The poet has very cleverly made آهو *radīf* and بار - کار - خار *qāfiyah*, introducing a novelty in the art of *qaṣīdah*-writing and panegyric poetry, and throwing a challenge to other poets to compete with him.

Distinctive trait of Persian poetry in India under the Ghōrīs and the Slaves.

The general trend of the verses written during these two periods of Indian history was more historical than panegyrical. Most of the poets in the service of the kings and the nobility remained attached to the person of their masters, and accompanied them in their tours and territorial campaigns. They too, like the soldiers of the regular

army, took active part in the country's warfare, and remained present in the Camp with the sepoys and officers whom they praised and entertained with their poems depicting the battles and the heroic feats of their comrades. Besides such historical literature, which was coming into existence and gaining popularity, the poets took delight in writing chronogrammatic quatrains which gave the dates of events. This kind of composition which had its own utility was welcomed by people, because of its brevity and outspokenness. It was a distinctive step towards advancement in the art of Persian composition at the Indian court. Such a feature was absent in the growth of poetry in Persia. Many of the poets living in this period at Delhi and Lāhore were influenced by Ṣūfīsm, and produced poetry of a really high order. Also, the writing of *qaṣīdah* with pageantry and clever devices, using the technicalities of profession and classics, to make a display of knowledge, dates from the regime of the Slave kings.

'Alā'uddīn Ghōrī's taste for Persian poetry.

The Ghōrīs were, from the beginning, devoted to Persian poetry, and were subject to Persian influence. Their educated people used the Persian language in their own homes and in private talks, and had a soft corner for Persian manners and customs. Sulṯān 'Alā'uddīn Ḥusain Ghōrī, son of Sulṯān Ḥusain Sūrī, had a gift for Persian poetry, and com-

posed verses on the occasions of his victories over his enemies. Once, he wrote a *qiṯʻa* to appease his vanity, when Ghaznī was ransacked by his soldiers for *seven* days and nights to avenge for the murder of his brother, Saifuddīn Sūrī, at the hands of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznavī. It was sung before him by the *nāʼiks* and talented musicians of the age in *three* different notes: Turkī, Hindūstānī and Persian. The verses that survive are as follows :—

قطعه

[1] جهاں داند که من شاهِ جهانم چراغِ دودهٔ عبا سیانم
علاءالدیں حسین ابنِ حسین ام که دایم باد ملکِ خاندانم
چو بر گلگونِ دولت بر نشینم یکے باشد زمین و آسمانم
امل مقرع زنِ گردِ سپاهم اجل بازیگرِ نوکِ سنانم
همه عالم بگردم چوں سکندر بهر شهرے شهے دیگر نشانم
بر آں بودم که از او باش غزنی چو رودِ نیل جوئی خوں برانم
و لیکن گنده پیرانند و طفلاں شفاعت می کند بختِ جوانم
بهخشیدم بدیشاں جانِ ایشاں که بادا جانِ شاں پیوندِ جانم

Again, when he repaired to Fīrūz Kūh, his capital, he held a public *darbār* and gave a banquet to which skilled musicians were invited from all parts of the Empire, and his verses were sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The following *qiṯʻa* of his composition was among the poems

[1] Ibid, p. 57.

sung on this occasion:—

قطعهٔ دیگر

[1]آنم که هست فخر ز عدلم زمانه را
آنم که هست جور ز بذلم خزانه را
انگشتِ دستِ خویش بدندان کند عدو
چون بر زهِ کمان نهم انگشتوانه را
چون جست خانه خانه‌کمیتم میان صف
دشمن ز گوی باز ندانست خانه را
بهرام شه بکینهٔ من چون کمان کشید
کندم بکینه از کمرِ او کنانه را
پشتي خصم گرچه همه رای و رانه بود
کردم بگرز خورد سرِ رای و رانه را
کین سوختم به تیغ در آموختم کنون
شاهانِ روزگار و ملوکِ زمانه را
ای مطربِ بدیع چو فارغ شدم ز جنگ
بر گوی قول را و بیار آن ترانه را
دولت چو بر کشید نه شاید فروگذاشت
قولِ مغنّی و مئِ صافِ مغانه را

He also wrote quatrains of which two good instances have been preserved to our day. The following was composed off-hand, when, on his being defeated and

His rubāʿī.

[1] Ibid, p. 59.

brought before Sulṯān Sanjar, he was pardoned and rewarded by the latter with a tray of pearls:—

[1] بگرفت و نکشت شه مرا در صفِ کین
هر چند بُدم کشتنی از روی یقین
بخشید مرا یک طبقِ دُرِّ ثمین
بخشایش و بخشش چنان بود و چنین

On another occasion, he recited the following in a similar refrain, when he happened to kiss the mole on Sulṯān Sanjar's right foot:—

[2] ای خاکِ سُم مرکبِ تو افسرِ من   وی حلقهٔ بندگیِّ تو زیورِ من
چون خالِ کفِ پای ترا بوسه زدم   اقبال همی بوسه زند بر سرِ من

These extempore compositions represent his best poetic talents, and may compete with any standard poet of Persia in beauty of language, figurative style and chastity of thought.

[1] Ibid, p. 61.
[2] Ibid.

CHAPTER V

PERSIAN LITERATURE UNDER THE KHILJĪS AND THE TUGHLAQS AND THE LAST THREE KINGS OF THE SLAVE DYNASTY: SULṮĀN MU'IZZUDDĪN KAIQUBĀD AND THE BALBANS.

The period covered by the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule and the last *three* kings of the Slave dynasty, Sulṯān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans, opens a golden page in the history of Persian literature in Hindūstān. It produced many a poet, prose-writer and historian, the importance of whose works was fully acknowledged by contemporary as well as later Persia. The most notable among them were the following "*five wonders*" (خمسهٔ متحیره[1]) whose contributions to Persian language and literature are of immense value:—

1. Amīr Khusrau,
2. Khwājah Ḫasan Sanjarī,
3. Ẓiyā'uddīn Barnī,
4. Badr i Chāch and
5. Qāẓī Ẕahīr Dehlevī.

[1] Technically it refers to the following *five* radiant stars:—

عطارد – زهره – مریخ – مشتری – زحل

Of these, a short notice of the life and works of only the first *three* (Khusrau, Ḫasan and Barnī) will appear in the following pages.

Amīr Khusrau of Etah.

A valuable monograph on the poet has been written by Shiblī in his *Shi'rul 'Ajam*. The author drew his materials from such authentic records as Khusrau's own Preface to his *dīwān*, the *Ghurrat ul Kamāl*, which gives his autobiography; his Introduction to the *Tuhfa tus Sighar*; Dr. Rieu's account of Khusrau in the Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum Library; the *Tārīkh i Farishtah* and other chronicles of first magnitude. It is expedient, therefore, to recount in these pages only such events and circumstances as are vital to the interest of this book, clarifying India's position and accomplishment, so as to make the study of this poet truly representative and historically complete.

Khusrau stands out most prominently among the poets of Hindūstān, whose compositions through their retaining the integrity of Persian idiom knew no distinction between *Persian Persian* and *Indian Persian.* He is fortunately the only indigenous poet against whom even the bitterest Persian critic could not open his mouth, but had to acknowledge his greatness as a poet. Of the various forms of Persian poetry, he selected *ghazal* and *masnawī* for his themes, introducing substantial improvements in

the art of versification. His pathos in *ghazal* and continuity in *maṣnawī*, with sundry sweet and natural methods of approach, have a peculiar charm which distinguish him from his other comrades in calling, and give new tone to these two branches, widening their scope and popularity. His *ghazal* in sweetness of language and heart to heart converse has an effect which only Rūdakī and Sa'dī could claim. But to this he added a charm of his own by giving his verses a musical character, himself being an adept in music and the inventor of the Indian *Sitār*, which definitely improved the melody of the Persian *ghazal* and made it more popular in the assembly of the Ṣūfīs.

His position as a *maṣnawī*-writer is still higher. Firdausī and Niẕāmī were the two outstanding figures in Persia who had devoted all their energy and given their best to *maṣnawī*. The former's *Shāh Nāmah* and the latter's *Sikandar Nāmah* and the *Khamsah* were already a household word in Persia. Hence it was not an easy task for a poet in Persia, much less in India, to attempt to write anything in this kind, after these two masters, for fear of public opinion. But Khusrau's genius, which knew no bounds, flashed at once, and he flung himself in this field undaunted, with a confidence born of equality and fellowship. Like his two worthy predecessors, Abul Faraj Rūnī and Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, he gave a new turn to Persian poetry and enhanced its prestige,

which was frankly and fully acknowledged in Persia in every period of its literary advancement.

His parentage, early education and dates of birth and death.

His father's name was Saifuddīn Maḫmūd, who was by descent a Turk of the *Lāchīn* tribe. He had fled to India during the early reign of Sulṯān Nāṣiruddīn Maḫmūd, son of Altamash, from his native village, *Kish*, in Turkistān, being afraid of the rise and devastations of Changīz Khān, and halted at Patyālī, a Taḫsīl in the Ētah district of Āgra Division. He had three sons, of whom Khusrau was the youngest. His birth took place here in 652 A. H.[1] He received his early education at Ētah where he attended the school for some years. His father had appointed the famous calligraphist, Maulānā Sa'duddīn Khaṯṯāṯ, as the boy's tutor to give him lessons in the art of writing *nasta'līq* and *shikast*. Numerous stories are told of his quick wit and intelligence

[1] Shiblī, in his *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, Vol. II, p. 108, gives the year of Khusrau's birth 605 A. H., which cannot be correct for the following reason:—

Khusrau wrote his first *maṣnawī*, the *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*, in 688 A. H., when he was, according to his own statement, 36 years old, thus establishing the fact that his birth had taken place in 652 A. H. Cf:—

در رمضان شد به سعادت تمام یافت قران نامهٔ سعدین نام
انچه بتاریخ ز هجرت گذشت بود سنِ ششصد و هشتاد و هشت
سال من، امروز اگر بر رسی راست بگویم همه شش بود وسی

while he was still quite young. He had a gift for poetry in his tender age, and was endowed with a powerful memory besides. He remembered and composed verses while yet in his mother's lap[1]. His tremendous success lay in his voice which was extremely sweet and melodious like the great Rūdakī of Persia. He loved music as an art in which he made considerable progress, rising to the highest rank of *nā'ik*. He died at the ripe age of 74 in 725 A. H.[2] after a chequered but most brilliant career as a poet, soldier and royal associate, and was buried at Delhi in the mausoleum of his spiritual teacher and guide, Shaikh Niẕāmuddīn, better known as *Niẕām ul Auliyā*.

[1] Cf Khusrau's own statement:—

دراں صغر سن که دندان می افتاد سخن می گفتم و گوهر از دهانم می ریخت

(Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction)

[2] Cf. a chronogrammatic *qiṯ'a* by Maulānā Shihāb Mu'ammā'ī, giving the date of Khusrau's death. It was engraved on a piece of marble and put over Khusrau's tomb:—

میر خسرو خسروِ ملکِ سخن   آں محیطِ فضل و دریای کمال
نثرِ او دلکش تر ازماءِ معین   نظمِ او صافی تر از آبِ زلال
بلبلِ دستاں سرای بیقرین   طوطیِ شکر مقال بے مثال
از پیِٔ تاریخ سالِ فوتِ او   چوں نهادم سر بزانوی خیال
شد عدیم‌المثل یک تاریخِ او   دیگرے شد طوطیِ شکر مقال

۷۲۵   ۷۲۵

His works

Khusrau's works, according to Jāmī's calculation, consist of more than *four* and less than *five lacs* of *baits* (lines) including his prose.[1] It is also asserted that Khusrau was the author of *ninety-two* original works,[2] a number which no poet in Islāmic India surpassed.

The Khamsah.

His *Khamsah* consists of *five maṣnawīs* written as a rejoinder to Niẕāmī's *Khamsah*, entitled the *Panj Ganj* (five treasures), as detailed below:—

(*i*) The *Matla'ul Anwār*. It is a moral poem, rivalling Niẕāmī's *Makhzan ul Asrār* of the *Panj Ganj* series, written in 698 A. H., in a wonderfully short space of two weeks.[3] It contains 3,310 verses, and begins with:—

بسم اللّٰه الرحمٰن الرحیم   خطبهٔ قدس است به ملکِ قدیم

(*ii*) The *Shīrīn-Khusrau*. It is a counter-part to Niẕāmī's *Khusrau wa Shīrīn*. In one of its chapters, Khusrau has performed a public duty and given valuable advice to his young son, Mas'ūd, as a dutiful father would do. It took him about three months, and was completed in the same year. It

[1] Nafahāt, p. 548.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Cf:—

از اثر اختر گردون خرام   شد بد و هفته مهِ کامل تمام

contains 4,126 verses. The opening verse is as follows:—

خداوندا دلم را چشم بکشای　　بمعراج یقینم راه بنمای

(*iii*) The *Majnūn-Lailā*. It stands in competition with Nizāmī's *Lailā wa Majnūn*, and was similarly written and finished in the same year in two months and ten days. It contains 2,663 verses, and begins with:—

ای داده بدل خزینهٔ راز　　عقل از تو شده خزینه پرداز

(*iv*) The *Ā'īna i Iskandarī*. It is a rejoinder to Nizāmī's *Sikandar Nāmah*, and was written in 699 A. H. It contains 4,450 verses, and took him about three months to finish. The opening verse is as follows:—

خدایا جهان پادشاهی تراست　　زما خدمت آید خدائی تراست

(*v*) The *Hasht Bihisht*. This is the last *maṣnawī* of the *Khamsah*, and rivals Nizāmī's *Haft Paikar*. The year of its authorship is 701 A. H. It contains 3,384 verses. The first line runs thus:—

ای کشایندهٔ خزانهٔ جود　　نقش پیوند کار گاهِ وجود

All these five *maṣnawīs* were written as a rejoinder to Nizāmī's *Khamsah* (the *Panj Ganj*) and completed in a little over two years' time. Qāẓī Shihābuddīn *Adīb*, a scholar and a great admirer of

Khusrau's poetic genius, edited these *maṣnawīs* which were presented to the reigning Sulṭān 'Alā-'uddīn Khiljī, who rewarded the poet with a robe of honour and 1,000 *tankas* per month as his stipend for life.

His other works are classified as follows:—

(*vi*) The *Tuḥfat us Ṣighar*. It is the work, as the very name suggests, of his youth. It contains poems written by him while he was yet in his *teens* and preserved under this head.

(*vii*) The *Wasaṭ ul Ḥayāt*. This is the work of his middle age, and contains *qaṣā'id* in praise of Malik Chajjū and Sulṭān Shahīd, written between the 20th and the 35th year of his life.

(*viii*) The *Ghurrat ul Kamāl*. This is, similarly, a collection of his *qaṣā'id* in praise of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and Sulṭān Jalāluddīn Khiljī. Its value is greatly enhanced by a Preface from the author, in which he gives some important particulars of his life. It was completed, like the *Maṭla'ul Anwār*, in the short space of two weeks.

(*ix*) The *Baqiyyah Naqiyyah*. This is the work of his old age, consisting of panegyric poems and an elegy on Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn

Khiljī's death, which occurred in 716 A. H. It is a collection of poems written between 716 A. H. and 720 A. H.

(*x*) The *Nihāyat ul Kamāl.* This is the last work of his life. It consists of *ghazals*, *qaṣā'id* and *marṣiyas*. His *marṣiyah* on Sultān Qutbuddīn Mubārak's death (720 A. H.) and several congratulatory poems in honour of his successor, Sultān Khusrau Khān, together with a description of certain events occurring in the early part of 725 A. H., which is the year of the author's death, suggest, beyond doubt, that it was his last work.

(*xi*) The *Qir'ān us Sa'dain.* This is the first and the most important of his *maṣnawīs*. It was written in 688 A. H., at the invitation of Sultān Kaiqubād, when the poet had attained his 36th year. This is historically important and gives a graphic description of the meeting of Bughrā Khān, the ruler of Bengāl, and his son, Sultān Kaiqubād, the king of Delhi.

(*xii*) The *Tāj ul Futūh*. This is his second *maṣnawī* written in the Coronation year of Sultān Jalāluddīn Fīrūz Shāh Khiljī (689 A. H.). It describes the events from the beginning of his accession to

the throne to the middle of the following year, 690 A. H.

(*xiii*) The *Duwalrānī-Khiẓir Khān*. This is his third *maṣnawī* which was written at the instance and special request of Sulṯān 'Alā-'uddīn's son, Khiẓir Khān, who, having fallen in love with Duwalrānī, the beautiful daughter of the Rājā of Gujarāt, had married her. The incidents of their love, as preserved and supplied to the poet by the hero, are faithfully depicted with characteristic grace and beauty. It contains about 4,200 verses, and was written in 715 A. H. The poet originally gave it the name *Ishqiyyah*, and took four months to complete it.

(*xiv*) The *Nuh Sipahr*. This was written for and dedicated to Sulṯān Quṯbuddīn Mubārak Khiljī. It is so called because it contains, like the *nine* skies, *nine* chapters, each of which has a different metre. It was completed in 718 A.H.

(*xv*) The *Rasā'il i I'jāz*. This is a voluminous work written in three parts, and is the best specimen of Khusrau's prose. The poet, in this work, lays down the guiding principles of prose composition, and dwells at length upon each to emphasise their importance and indispensability. It

was completed in 719 A. H.

Besides the above, there are sundry works like the *Tughlaq Nāmah*, the *Miftāh ul Futūh*, the *Afzal ul Fawā'id*, the *Khazā'in ul Futūh* and the *Tārīkh i Dehlī*, which survive and have been reviewed by famous authors.

Views of distinguished personalities on Khusrau's poetry:—
(*i*) Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlevī.

Khusrau's poetic talents have elicited the highest tributes of praise from distinguished Persian and Indian scholars, including poets and historians, whose views are held in great esteem by modern European orientalists, and serve as a cold douche to the bitterest Persian critics of India. The views of India's renowned scholar, Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlevī, on Khusrau's poetry, are clearly expressed in his works. He holds that since the beginning of Persian poetry up till his times, no poet of Khusrau's genius and perfection had come into existence. The learned author calls Khusrau سلطان الشعرا (the Sultān of poets), یگانۂ عالم (unique in the world) and an عالم (a Universe) by himself. He further says that Khusrau used to compose verses in the style and trend of thought of the poets of Isfahān in obedience to the wishes of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn, surnamed *Nizām ul Auliyā*, of Delhi. The author's own words are worthy of notice:—

[1] وی سلطان الشعراء و برهان الفضلاست – در وادی سخن یگانهٔ عالم و
نقاوهٔ نوع بنی آدم است وی در سخن عالمے است از عوالم خداوندی که
پایان ندارد – انچه اورا از مضامین و معانی در اطوار سخن و انواع آن
دست داد هیچکس را از شعرای متقدمین و متاخرین نداده و در طرز
سخن بر فرمود شیخ خود رفته است که فرموده سخن بر طرز اصفهانیان بگو –

He is the Sulṯān of the poets, and the proof of the learned. In the valley of speech, he is unique in the world and is the essence of mankind (i.e. specially chosen for poetry among men). In speech, he is a world from the worlds of God, that has no end. Whatever, in the art of poetry and its various forms, has accrued to him from the subject-matter and meaning, to none else among the ancient and subsequent poets has it occurred. And he is devoted to the orders of his Shaikh who told him to write poetry in the manner and style of the people of Is̱fahān.

(*ii*) Sa'dī of S̱hirāz.

Khusrau and his friend Khwājah Ḫasan (who will be noticed hereafter) were for five years the court poets of Prince Muḫammad Sulṯān, better known by his posthumous title of *Sulṯān Shahīd*. He was appointed by his father, Sulṯān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban, to be the Governor of Multān, where he had collected

[1] Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 99.

the best poets in the hope of making it the *Shīrāz of India*. The Prince was keenly interested in Persian poetry and had extended liberal patronage to worthy poets. He had conferred the title of *Amīr ush Shu'arā* on Khusrau whom he held in high esteem. He had also twice invited Sa'dī from Shīrāz to come to Multān, and sent emissaries with rich presents and passage money to the poet. The Prince was so sure of Sa'dī's arrival in India that he had planned to build a grand *Khānqāh* with a big college of Persian and Arabic learning attached to it at Multān, and to appoint the revered new-comer to be the head of the institution to accord him honour. The Prince had asked his father to contribute handsomely towards the building of this proposed seat of Islāmic culture, and appoint suitable *jāgīr* for its maintenance. The name intended to be given to this institution was *Khānqāh i Sa'diyah*. The object behind this move was to attract from Persia the only worthy poet living at Shīrāz, and make India the home of Persian learning with Multān as its chief centre. But it is a pity that Sa'dī on both the occasions put forward the plea of his old age, and commended Khusrau to the Prince with the remark دِر هند خسرِ وبس است (in India Khusrau is enough). The version of the Indian historian, Ghulām Husain Gulshan Lāhaurī, who compiled a short history of the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule in the form of anecdotes, incidentally touching on the lives and circumstances of a group of

authors, poets and dignitaries, whom he termed *darbārīs*, is significant. He says:— .

[1]آوردہ اند کہ قا آن ملک عاجلاً و آجلاً التماس قدوم شیخ سعدی از شیراز نمودہ و سید حسین شرقی و عموش عکرہ را با تحف گرامی و خرج کافی نزدِ شیخ در شیراز فرستاد اما آنحضرت عذرِ ضعفِ پیری درمیان نہادہ و سفاینِ غزل را ہر دو مرۃ بخطِ مبارک نبشتہ بر سولان سپرد و فرمود کہ در ہند خسرو بس است -

It is said that Qā'ān Malik[2] invited Shaikh Sa'dī from Shīrāz to come (to India) soon or late, and sent Sayyid Husain Sharqī and his uncle 'Akrah with rich presents and sufficient passage money to the Shaikh at Shīrāz. But he put forward the excuse of his old age, and having written *ghazals* in his own hand on each of these two occasions entrusted them to the emissaries remarking, "*In India Khusrau is enough.*"

[1] Majmū'a i Tazkār, Mss., p. 39, Jaunpūr.

Note:—It is a useful small work which throws some light on the literary phase of the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule. It is written in the form of anecdotes interspersed with verses and does not profess to be a regular or connected history of any period. The copy kindly lent to me by the owner, Shaikh Rahmat 'Alī, Zamīndār, Jaunpūr, U. P., is an imperfect one and damaged in the opening pages. The copyist styles himself نور خاں خطاط خادم شیرین قلم نکینوی. The date of transcription is 21st Sha'bān, 1243 A. H.

[2] Qā'ān Malik is the official title of Prince Muhammad Sultān. It was conferred upon him by his father, Sultān Ghiyāṣ-uddīn Balban.

Barnī's statement.

Barnī's statement, which throws further light on the contemplated project and the building of the *Khānqāh* for the sake of Sa'dī, is as follows:—

[1] و خانِ شهید از و فور دانشے که داشت دو کرّت از ملتان در طلبِ
شیخ سعدی قاصداً و عامداً کسان و خرج در شیراز فرستاد و شیخ را در ملتان
طلب کرد و خواست که بجهتِ او در ملتان خانقاه سازد و دران خانقاه
دِهها وقف کند خواجه سعدی از ضعفِ پیری نتوانست آمد و هر دو کرّت
یگان سفینهٔ غزل بخطِ خود بر خان فرستاد و عذرِ نیامدنِ خود در قلم آورد –

And Khān i Shahīd, on account of his considerable learning, sent emissaries with passage money from Multān to Shīrāz twice, inviting Shaikh Sa'dī to come to Multān; and planned to build a *Khānqāh* for the sake of the Shaikh at Multān, and endow villages for that *Khānqāh*. But Khwājah Sa'dī, on account of the infirmity of old age, could not come, and on both the occasions sent *ghazals* in his own handwriting to the Khān, and wrote therein his excuse for not coming.

Sa'dī rightly felt that Khusrau, who could worthily represent him, was living in India, and his presence there was enough. This outspokenness of Sa'dī is a lesson to those modern critics who refuse

[1] Barnī, p. 68.

to acknowledge that India was raised to the level of Persia in the sphere of literature.

(*iii*) Badāūnī's version.

Badāūnī relates that Sa'dī also wrote a letter to the Prince, commending to his notice Khusrau's poetic talents and urging on the Prince the need of showing the young poet a most liberal and munificent patronage in the following words :—

[1] و شیخ بعذرِ پیری نیامد اما بتربیتِ میر خسرو سلطان را وصیت فرمود و سفارشِ او فوق الحد نوشته –

> And the Shaikh did not come on account of his old age, but he advised the Sulṯān to show his patronage to Mīr Khusrau, and laid exceeding stress on his recommendation of the same.

(*iv*) Ẕiyā'uddīn Barnī.

The first and the most important historian of Indian blood, Ẕiyā'uddīn Barnī, a contemporary of Amīr Khusrau and his coassociate in the royal *darbārs*, who had witnessed Khusrau's immense popularity and success as a poet, states as follows :—

[2] در عصرِ علائی شعرائی بودندکه بعد از ایشان بلکه پیش از ایشان چشمِ روزگار مثلِ ایشان ندیده است لا سیّما امیر خسرو که خسروِ شاعرانِ سلف و خلف بوده است و در اختراع معانی و کثرتِ تصنیفات و کشفِ رموز

[1] Muntakhab, Vol. I, p. 130.
[2] Barnī, p. 359.

غریب نظیر نداشت و اگر استادان نظم و نثر در یک دو فن بے ہمتا بودند امیر خسرو در جمیع فنون ممتاز و مستغنی بود ہمچناں ذو فنونی کہ در جمیع فن ہای شاعری بسر آمده و استاد باشد در سلف نبود و در خلف تا قیامت پیدا آید یا نیاید امیر خسرو در نظم و نثر پارسی کتابخانۂ تصنیف کرده است و داد سخنوری داده است

In 'Alā'uddīn's reign, there were poets such as after them, nay, even before them, the eye of Time had not seen the like, particularly, Amīr Khusrau who is the 'King of the poets' of the Past and the Future; and in invention of meanings, abundance of literary productions and the opening of strange secrets, he had no equal. And if the masters of poetry and prose were unparalleled in one or two branches, Amīr Khusrau was distinguished and rich in all the branches. A versatile writer like him, who in all the branches of poetry has come to the top and is master of each, could not be found among his predecessors; and among his successors, perhaps, none would appear till doomsday. And Amīr Khusrau in Persian poetry and prose has written works equal to a library, and has done full justice to speech.

He further states that a contemporary poet of

the royal *darbār*, Khwājah Sanā'ī[1], says about Khusrau thus :—

[2]بخدا ار بزیر چرخ کبود همچو او هست و بود و خواهد بود

> I swear by God that underneath the blue sky
> There is not another like him or was or will be.

Barnī, at another place, compares the period of Sulṯān Sanjar Saljūqī and Sulṯān Maẖmūd of Ghaznī with that of Sulṯān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī in point of literary patronage and the skill of its poets in the following significant words :—

[3]اگر همچو امیرخسرو در عهدِ محمودی و سنجری پیدا آمدے ظاهر و غالب آنست که آں پادشاهاں ولایتے و اقطاعے بد و انعام دادندے....و سلطاں علاءالدین اینچنیں نادرهٔ شعراء و فضلای سلف و خلف را همیں یک هزار تنکه مواجب دادے -

> If one like Amīr Khusrau had appeared in the time of Maẖmūd and Sanjar, it is apparent and most probable that those kings would have rewarded him with land and *jāgīrs*; while Sulṯān 'Alā'uddīn has bestowed on such a rare personality among the poets and the learned

[1] The one named is other than the famous Khwājah Ḥakīm Sanā'ī who was his predecessor and flourished in the Gẖaznavīd period.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid, p. 366.

of the past and the future only *one thousand tankas* as his stipend.

In the above passage, he clearly expresses his view that a poet of Khusrau's merit did not appear in Persia nor in India during the reigns of Sulṯān Sanjar and Sulṯān Maḥmūd. Had there been one like him, he adds, those kings, who were noted for their munificent patronage of Persian letters, would have greatly honoured him, and appointed suitable *jāgīrs* to maintain his position and rank.

Khusrau's connection with royal *darbārs*.

Amīr Khusrau became first attached to the court of *Khān i Mu'aẕẕam* Kishlū Khān, *alias* Malik Chajjū, who was the nephew of Sulṯān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban, and remained in his service for two years.[1] He next entered the service of Bughrā Khān, Governor of Bengāl, who was the son of Sulṯān Ghiyāṣuddīn. But as the climate of Bengāl did not suit him, and he also felt constantly worried at his being far away from his people, specially his mother whom he dearly loved, he returned to Delhi on long leave, and subsequently submitted his resignation. His fame as a poet was already widely spread, and he had no difficulty in finding a suitable situation. He received invitations from various Princes to come to their courts, but accepted the one from Prince Sulṯān

[1] Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction.

Muhammad, Governor of Multān. This Prince showed Khusrau and his colleague, Khwājah Hasan, great favours, and held them in the highest esteem. They both remained at Multān for about five years, until the Prince's death which occurred in a fight between him and Tīmūr Khān Tārtar, midway between Dībalpūr and Lāhore.[2] His death removed a great patron of poets and men-of-letters from India. It came as a shock to all ranks, charitably disposed as he was towards all, particularly towards the poets and scholars who were directly connected with his court. They mourned his death as a personal loss. The Prince, as has already been pointed out, wanted to make Multān the chief seat of Persian learning in India, and was working for it for years. He was the first Indian Prince to whom the idea of inviting Sa'dī to a city of the Panjāb and making it by his presence the *Shīrāz of India* had occurred. Khusrau and Hasan were deeply grieved at the Prince's death, and felt the loss perhaps more than any other fellow-poets did, as is evidenced by Barnī's account as fol-

[2] Cf:—

و در شهور سنه اربع و ثمانین و ستمایه خانِ ملتان را که پسرِ بزرگِ
سلطان بلبن و ولی عهدِ او و پشت و پناهِ ملکِ او بود درمیانِ لوهور و
دیو بالپور با تمر ملعون. . . محاربه و مقاتله افتاد از قضا و قدرِ باری تعالی
خانِ ملتان با آمراء و سران و معتبرانِ لشکر دران محار به شهید شد –

(Barnī, p. 109)

lows :—

[1]و بار ها از امیر خسرو و از امیر حسن شنیده ام که بر طریق حسرت و نالش روزگار گفتندے که اگر مارا و هنرمندان دیگر را بخت بودے خان شہید زندہ ماندے -

> And many a time I have heard from Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Hasan that they said out of a passion of grief and lament that if there had been luck for them and for others skilled in arts, Khān i Shahīd would be still living.

Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn and the whole court remained in mourning for months. Almost every public institution or private house in Delhi and Multān was filled with grief for the dead. Khusrau and Hasan, who were among the fighting unit with the Prince, were taken prisoners by the Tārtars (683 A. H.), and kept in their custody at Balkh for about two years. They wrote several elegies in poetry and prose, and sent them to Delhi where they were eagerly read by the people. The near relations of those who had lost their lives with the Prince on the battle-field recited those compositions in their homes, and wept over their dead with unmitigated sorrow and feeling of separation. When Khusrau returned to Delhi, on his being released by the Tārtars, he

[1] Ibid, p. 68.

recited a newly composed poem at the royal *darbār*. It was so remarkably pathetic that the audience could not restrain their emotions, and wept so loud that the whole *darbār* resounded with their laments. The Sulṯān himself burst into tears, and contracted fever which ultimately caused his death. This marvellous elegiac poem is a real portraiture of the pangs of love and pathos, and stands unequalled in the realm of Persian elegiac poetry for its tremendous charm and effect. It consists of *eleven bands* which are reproduced here in full from the original as an abiding specimen of Khusrau's great mastery and skill in this art:—

[1] ترکیب بندِ خسرو در مرثیهٔ خانِ شهید

بندِ اول

واقعه است این یا بلا از آسمان آمد پدید
آفت است این یا قیامت در جهان آمد پدید
راه در بنیادِ عالم داد سیل فتنه را
رخنهٔ کامسان در هندوستان آمد پدید
مجلسِ یاران پریشان شد چو برگِ گل زباد
برگ ریزی گوئی اندر بوستان آمد پدید
هر مژه بے دیدنِ ایشان سنانے شد بچشم
نیزه بالا خون زهر نوکِ سنان آمد پدید

[1] Majmū'a i Taẕkār, Mss. pp. 43—57.

دل به پیچد چوں زمانه رشتهٔ صحبت گسست
دُر بریزد چوں خلل در ریسماں آمد پدید
بسکه آبِ چشم خلقے شد رواں از چار سوی
پنج آبِ دیگر اندر مولتاں آمد پدید
خواستم تاز آتشِ دل برزباں آرم سخن
صد زبانِ آتشینم در دهاں آمد پدید
سینهٔ خالی بکندم گر یه بکشاد از دو چشم
چوں زمیں کاویده شد آبِ رواں آمد پدید
گر یه هم بے پوست روئی می کند با من کزو
پوست از رویم برفت و استخواں آمد پدید
جمع شد سیاره در چشمم مگر طوفاں شود
چوں به برجِ آبی انجم را قراں آمد پدید
من نخواهم جز هماں جمعیت و ایں کَے شود
خود محالست ایں بنات‌النعش پرویں کَے شود

بندِ دوم

آں چه طالع بد که شاه از مولتاں لشکر کشید
تیغ کافر کش برای کشتنِ کافر کشید
انچه حاضر بود لشکر لشکرے دیگر نجست
زانکه رستم را نشاید منتِ لشکر کشید
چوں خبر کردندش از دشمن بداں قوت که داشت
بے محابا· خشم در سر کرد و رایت بر کشید
یک کشش از مولتانش تا بلوهور اوفتاد
یعنی اندر عهدِ من کافر تواند سر کشید

من نه آں شیریکه شمشیر چو آب و آتشم
از کشش هر سال شاں در خاک و خاکستر کشید
بسکه بر گلِ خونِ ایشاں را رواں کردم چو آب
همچو بط بر آب کرگس بر سرِ خوں بر کشید
آنچناں رنگیں کنم امسال خاک از خونِ شاں
کز زمیں باید شفق را گونهٔ احمر کشید
او دریں تدبیر و آگه نه که تقدیر فلک
صفحهٔ تدبیر را خطِّ مشیت در کشید
ز اختراں چشمش رسید اردست باشد چوں شهاب
میل می باید که اندر چشم هفت اختر کشید
غرّهٔ شد از محرم نی بر و بر کُلّ خلق
چوں بسالخ اندر گلوی دشمناں خنجر کشید
تا شود عاشوره در صفِ غزا شد چوں حسین
گردِ جنگش سُرمه در چشمِ مهِ انور کشید
آں چه ساعت بُد که کافر بر سر لشکر رسید
جوق جوق از آب بگذشتند و ناگه در رسید

بندِ سوم

خنگِ شه دیدی و بر گردوں غبار انگیختن
باد پا بر کافرانِ خاکسار انگیختن
غلغله در انجم از جوشِ سپاه انداختن
زلزله در عالم از سیرِ سوار انگیختن
از خروشِ کوس و بانگِ اسپ و آوازِ سوار
لرزه در صحرا و دشت و کوهسار انگیختن

نعل در آتش نہادن تو سنان گرم را
وز سم قہر آتشین نعلی شرار انگیختن

آں چه حیرت بود گاہِ کار زار انداختن
ویں چه هیبت بود گاہِ گیر و دار انگیختن

از فروغِ تیغ در سر تف و تاب انداختن
وز خیالِ نیزه در دل خار خار انگیختن

پر دلاں در حمله از بہر مخالف سوختن
بیدلاں در حیله از بہرِ فرار انگیختن

ضربتے مردانه در پہلوی نامرداں زدن
شعلهٔ آتش ز تیغ آبدار انگیختن

دیو بندی را علم جمشید وار افراختن
ملک گیری را فرس خورشید وار انگیختن

آسماں اندر تضرع زاں فزع برداشتن
آفتاب اندر تیمم زاں غبار انگیختن

اندراں میداں که فرق از مرد تا نامرد بود
اے بسا کس را که لبہا خشک رو ها زرد بود

بندِ چہارم

روز را تاریکی آمد چوں بہم بر بافتند
زرد شد خورشید چوں خنجر به خنجر بافتند

روز نزدیکِ فرو رفتن شده از رزم تیر
آسمانے بر سرِ خورشید لشکر بافتند

شانه را مانندِ آں صفہای تیغ از هر دو سو
سر کشاں چوں موی در مو یکدگر بر بافتند

آبگوں شد خاک چوں جوشن بجوشن دوختند
گلستاں شد دشت چوں اسپر در اسپر بافتند
آسماں بر می کشد گوئی که بگریزد ز تیر
تیرها بالای سر زاں پر که در پر بافتند
صاف گشت از تیغ چوں نیمے سرِ کافر تمام
کافراں هر صف که چوں مرغولِ کافر بافتند
از سر شکِ خوں همه یاقوتِ سرخِ تیغ جست
تا مکلل شد علمهائے که در زر بافتند
هم یگاں سر شدد و گاں شمشیر چوں برهم زدند
هم دوگاں سر شد یگاں سر ها چو در سر بافتند
کشتگاں افتاده در صحرای از اطرافِ سر
همچو صورتها که در دیبای اخضر بافتند
پیش ازیں کوشش بود کز چاشتگه تا وقتِ شام
روبروی و سر بمرگ و سر بسر بر بافتند
خواست شه تا نطعِ نصرت گسترد لیکن چه سود
کز فلک آں نطع را بر شکلِ دیگر بافتند
یک زماں شمشیرِ فتانش نیا سود از قتال
از زوالِ روز تا شب اندراں روزِ زوال

بندِ پنجم

یا رب آں خوں بود کاندر روی صحرا می دوید
یا بسوی تشنگاں موجے ز دریا می دوید
آب در غربال ریزی چوں فرو ریزد بزیر
خستگاں را خوں بر آں گونه بر اعضا می دوید

کشته اندر خاک جاں می کند بر خود می طپید
در گلویش موج می زد خون و بالا می دوید
این بدوزخ برد آب و آں بجنت برد جوی
گرچه خونِ گبر و مومن هر دو یکجا می دوید
تو سناں در خیز و سر های سواراں می فتاد
مرد را سر می دوید و اسپ را پا می دوید
هر کرا از قوتِ دل بازو اندر کار بود
راست کرده تیر سوی قلبِ اعدا می دوید
وانکه از ضعفِ درونی دست و پا گم کرده بود
گه بسوی آب و گاهے سوی صحرا می دوید
تیرِ کشتیهای تن میر اند بر دریای خوں
بیلکی میزد به تندی و گذارا می دوید
از وجودِ مرد هر خونے که آں از تیر جست
چوں کسے از خاک جستے بے محابا می دوید
شاه لشکر کش به ترتیبِ صف و آئین جنگ
می دوا نید اشهبِ اقبال را تا می دوید
پای پس می برد گردوں مو گرفته فتح را
فتح هر چند از ملاعیں جانبِ ما می دوید
کافر اندر انتظارِ شب که تا بیروں شود
ناگہاں میزانِ مارا پلّه دیگر گوں شود

بندِ ششم

تا چه شب بود آنکه از چرخ آفتاب افتاده بود
دیو آتش در جهاں می زد شهاب افتاده بود

گر حسینِ کربلا را رہ بہ بے آبی فتاد
او محمد بد کہ در آبش مآب افتادہ بود

روز چوں باقی نبود آں آفتابِ تحت را
روز باقی بود چیزے کافتاب افتادہ بود

دامِ ماهی شد دلِ مردم کہ از دستانِ دیو
دستِ جم را خاتمِ شاهی در آب افتادہ بود

کافر اندر خوں چو خر در پارگیں غلطیدہ بود
مومن اندرِ گل چو گوهر در خلاب افتادہ بود

فوجے اندر آبِ طوفانِ بلا را می گذشت
فوجِ دیگر تشنہ در راہِ سراب افتادہ بود

هر یکے در تختۂ خاکی فروشد بهرِ آنک
کارِ شاں با دفترِ یوم الحساب افتادہ بود

جوزِ هندی بد منقش کردہ از شنگرفِ تر
کاسہائے سر کہ اندر خونِ ناب افتادہ بود

از وداعِ جاں جراحتہای دل خوں می گریست
وز فراقِ زندگانی تن خراب افتادہ بود

ای بسا زندہ کہ از هیبت میانِ کشتگاں
تن بخوں آلودہ و دیدہ بخواب افتادہ بود

فعلِ ایں گرگِ کهن بنگر کہ از دستِ سگاں
شیر در زنجیر و فیل اندر طناب افتادہ بود

بے فزع بود آں قیامت را معین دیدہ ام
گر قیامت را نشاں اینست پس من دیدہ ام

بندِ هفتم

دائراتِ آسمانی گردشے برکار کرد
مرکزِ اسلام را سر گشته چوں پرکار کرد
ذرّہ را دیدی که آبِ چشمهٔ خورشید برد
سنگ را دیدی که کار لو لوی شهوار کرد
تا شه اندر کهفِ عصمت شد شکست آں آدمی
گر نه ز افغاں خفتگانِ کهف را بیدار کرد
گر بغارِ غیب رفت از پیشِ دشمن عیب نیست
مصطفیٰ(ع) از رزمِ دشمن عزم سوی غار کرد
ور شرارے آمدش از تیرِ مژگاں مرهمت
خشمِ نمرود آخر ابراهیم را درنار کرد
ور بدارِ قدس رفت از تنگنا دل بد مکن
عیسیٰ(ع) از جورِ نصاریٰ سر فدای دار کرد
ور سگاں رو به فنی کردند با او هم بخواں
زانچه سگساری بروی حیدرِ کرّار(رض) کرد
ور ز دیوانش گذشت آب از سر آخر یاد کن
زانچه دیوے تهمتن را غرقِ دریا بار کرد
با مغول هر سال بهرِ دیں سروکاریش بود
عاقبت جانِ گرامی در سرِ آں کار کرد
دستِ تقدیر است که خوں ریزد و که جاں برد
ناتوانا نیم نتواں کینه با قهّار کرد
شیرِ نر از نیشِ مورے صد خروش صعب زد
پیل مست از نوکِ خارے صد فغان زار کرد

جمعه بود و سلخِ ذی حجه که بود آن کارزار
آخرِ هشتاد و سه آغاز هشتاد و چهار

بندِ هشتم

مهر و مه بر روی آن فرخ لقا بگریستند
روز و شب بر سال آن اندک بقا بگریستند
همچو فرمانش روان شد شرق تا غرب آبِ چشم
بندهٔ فرمانان که بی فرمانروا بگریستند
بسکه اندر عهدِ او ماهی و مرغ آسوده بود
ماهیان در آب و مرغان در هوا بگریستند
آسمانها با هزاران دیده بر اهلِ زمین
همچو بارانِ بهاری بر گیا بگریستند
شبنمی کز آسمان هر صبح میریزد بخاک
اشکِ انجم دان که از اوجِ سما بگریستند
خلقِ ملتان مرد و زن مویه کنان و موکنان
کو بکو و سو بسو و جا بجا بگریستند
از خروشِ گریه و بانگِ دهل شب کس نخفت
بسکه در هر خانهٔ اهلِ عزا بگریستند
هم بآبِ چشمِ خود کردند ترتیبِ وضو
مغفرت جویان که در وقتِ دعا بگریستند
دیده خون افشاند بر گل چون گلوی تشنگان
بسکه هر کس کشتگانِ خویش را بگریستند
شد زبان از ناله چون پای اسیران آبله
بسکه از بهر اسیران بلا بگریستند

وز ازاں بندِ بلا ناگه اسیرے باز گشت
روی او دیدند هر کس بے ریا بگریستند
گریه چنداں شد که موج دیده ازجیحوں گذشت
حالِ من ایں بود حالِ دیگراں تا چوں گذشت

بندِ نهم

دست مالم یا خود از دنداں کنم بازو کبود
یا بپوشم جامه زیں مینای چوں مینو کبود
هر کسے نامی زند سوزن بهر بازو و من
نام شه خیزد چو از دنداں کنم بازو کبود
وه که از چرخِ کبود او خفته پهلوی زمیں
در زمیں خفتن همه آفاق شد پهلو کبود
هم سیاهی شد ز هندو هم سفیدی شد ز ترک
بسکه می پوشد کنوں هم ترک و هم هندو کبود
مصرِ جامع را بهر سوی رواں شد رودِ نیل
شسته شد از گریه چنداں جامه از هر سو کبود
نیلگو را خود عروسی شد بخانه بسکه شد
بر مثالِ نو عروسی در عزای شو کبود
نیل پوشیدن کنوں چوں رسم شد زیں پس رواست
گو کنند اسفید با فاں رشته در ماکو کبود
خوبرو یانرا که پیشانی زدند و خوں گریست
زیر ابرو سرخ شد بالا تر از ابرو کبود
نیل حاجت نیست خوبانرا و سرخی بعد ازیں
چوں ز کندن سرخ شد رخ وز زدن شد رو کبود

بسکه می کندند مواز فرق نازک سر بسر
شد ز آزار چناں کندن تہِ هر مو کبود
موی سر تا چند ازیں غم زارو گریاں بر کنم
ایں تنِ چوں موی بارے از سر جاں بر کنم

بندِ دهم

وه که دل یکبارگی خوں شد برای دوستاں
آه ازاں جمعیتِ راحت فزای دوستاں
دیده بهرِ دوستاں شد آشنای آب و خوں
تا میانِ آب و خوں شد آشنای دوستاں
بسکه خونِ بے بها خورده است خاک از دوستاں
واجب است از خاک جستن خونبهای دوستاں
خفتگانِ خاک را گر خاستن ممکن بود
عمرِ باقی می کنم وقفِ بقای دوستاں
حیف باشد مردماں از چشم و چشم از مردماں
دیگرانرا چوں تواں دیدن بجای دوستاں
خاکِ شاں دردیده می آرم ور انصافے بود
اینچنیں بے قدر باشد خاکِ پای دوستاں
دوستاں رفتند غیرے را چه گیرم در کنار
چوں کشم بر قامتِ هر کس قبای دوستاں
وه هوای دوستاں گر از سرم بیروں کنند
از سرم بیروں نخواهد شد هوای دوستاں
خسروا هر بار میکوئی ترا خواهم درید
جامهٔ جاں تا بدا من در عزای دوستاں

جاں که صد جا پارہ شد از غم کجا باشد روا
پارۂ را پارہ کردن از برائے دوستاں

دوستاں رفتند از بہر که میگوئی سخن
ختم کن مطلق سخن را از برای دوستاں

یاد می کن رفتگاں را خامه در حالِ دعا
کت برحمت یادؔ بنماید مگر دالِ دعا

بندِ یازدهم

یا رب آں خورشیدِ رحمت نور در جاں بادشاں
جاں ز فیض نور چوں خورشیدِ تاباں بادشاں

بود شاں در روزِ هیجا خانِ اعظم پیشوا
پیشوای جنت‌الفردوس هم خاں بادشاں

در هوائے کاں فلک آنجا پرد گردد مگس
پرِّ طاؤسانِ فردوسی مگس راں بادشاں

فیضِ رحمت آبِ حیواں است از ظلماتِ گور
یا رب اندر ظلمتِ گور آبِ حیواں بادشاں

چوں زِ دیوانِ سیاست نامه شاں بر کف نهند
از کتاباً بالیمیں در نامه عنواں بادشاں

قطرۂ خونے که گشت از حلقِ ایشاں ریخته
بهتریں . لعلے برای تاجِ غفراں بادشاں

تشنگانے را که جانها شاں ز بے آبی برفت
بر سر از ابر کرم هر لحظه باراں بادشاں

بستگانے را که دشواری بر ایشاں دیر ماند
یا رب امیدِ رهائی زود آساں بادشاں
رستگانِ بند را رنجے که اندر بند بود
موجب از بهر نجاتِ آخرت آں بادشاں
وانچه باقی مانده اند و زاں بلا باز آمده
فضلِ یزداں بادشاں احسانِ سلطاں بادشاں
چوں محمد رفت شه را عاقبت محمود باد
کیقبادش اسعد و کیخسروش مسعود باد

After Khān i Shahīd, Khusrau remained for some years in the service of Malik Amīr 'Alī, who was an influential noble of Sulṯān Ghiyāṣuddīn's court. The Malik was known by his popular title of *Ḫātim-ḵhān*, because of his *Ḫātim*-like generosity in rewarding men-of-letters. Khusrau wrote several *qaṣā'id* in praise of his new patron, and also dedicated to him a poem entitled the *Asp Nāmah* from which the following lines, in which his name occurs, are here quoted:—

شاهِ عهد اختیارِ دولت و دیں　　آفتابِ شرف بخانهٔ دیں
هم علی نام و هم بشیر دلی　　شیرِ دلدل سوار همچو علی
عالمی چوں عناں بجنبانی　　بسرِ تازیانه بستانی

On Ghiyāṣuddīn's .death, his grandson, Mu'izz-uddīn Kaiqubād ascended the throne of Delhi. He invited Khusrau to come to his court, but the poet did not accept the offer because of his differences

with the Minister, Malik Nizāmuddīn, and preferred to go to the Khān i Jahān, the king's *'āmil* (governor) of Oudh. This direct invitation by the king was the first of its kind in the history of Khusrau's service to which he refers thus in the following verse:—

ز شاهاں کسے کاؤلم کرد یاد   معزالدنا بود شه کیقباد

Besides several *qaṣā'id* in the king's praise, Khusrau wrote his famous *maṣnawī* known as the *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*, already noticed, at the king's special request.

The Khān i Jahān held Khusrau in high esteem, but the latter did not like to live in a far-off place from Delhi, being separated from his dear mother. He consequently left Oudh after two years' peaceful stay there, as related by him in the following lines:—

خانِ جہاں حاتمِ مفلس نواز   گشت به اقطاعِ اودهه سرفراز
در او دم برد ز لطفِ چناں   کیست که از لطف بتابد عناں
در اودهه ازبخششِ او تا دو سال   هیچ غم و ناله نبود از منال

On Sulṯān Jalāluddīn Fīrūzshāh's accession to the throne, Khusrau got admission into the royal court, and was appointed *nadīm i khāṣ* (royal associate) and *mushafdār* (keeper of the Qur'ān).

Khusrau's titles:— (*i*) Amīr.

The Sulṯān always addressed him as *Amīr*, in consequence of which he was subsequently known at the court and in the public by this dignified title. He

has several *qaṣā'id* in praise of the Sulṭān, and a *maṣnawī* known as the *Miftāḥ ul Futūḥ*, which describes the latter's territorial conquests, is dedicated to him. He was also called *Amīr ush Shu'arā* because of his title of *Amīr*.

(*ii*) Turkullāh.

Khusrau was surnamed *Turkullāh* (the Turk of God) by his spiritual guide, Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn, as stated by the poet himself in the following verse:—

بر زبانت چوں خطابِ بندہ ترک اللہ رفت
دستِ ترک اللہ گیر و ہم بہ اللہش سپار

(*iii*) Malik un Nudamā.

Gulshan, in the following extract, describes the manner in which the title of *Malik un Nudamā* (king of associates) was conferred upon the poet by Sulṭān Jalāluddīn Khiljī:—

و[1] سلطان جلال الدین قدر شناس مردم و ہنر پرور و مربی شعراء و فضلای عصر بود. . . . امیر خسرو را کہ سلطان الشعراء خطاب داشت بنواخت و اسپ خاصہ و خلعتِ فاخرہ و ہزار تنکہ مواجبِ پدرش با و بخشید و اورا ملک الندماء درگاہ ساخت -

On Jalāluddīn's death, Khusrau entered the service of Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī, the nephew of

[1] Cf. Barnī:— امیر خسرو کہ ملک الندماء مجلس سلطان بود (p. 200)

the deceased, and wrote several *qaṣā'id* in his praise, and a *maṣnawī* entitled the *Khazā'in ul-Futūḥ* which gives an account of his campaigns and victories. Besides the above works, his famous *Khamsah*, already noticed, was written for and dedicated to the Sulṭān.

(*iv*) Khātim ul Kalām.

This epithet was given him by the famous biographer Daulatshāh Samarqandī[1] to distinguish the poet from all his successors. It is indeed the highest tribute of praise that could be paid to a poet by his judges after his death. It means that Khusrau is the last word in Persian poetry.

(*v*) Ṭūṭī yi Hind.

This title which is equivalent to *Bulbul i Hind* (the nightingale of India) is a most important one conferred upon him by the public in recognition of his great merit as a poet. It is significant that this judgment of his poetry by the people of Hindūstān is endorsed by the Persian judges as well, and was echoed in Persia and the Persian-speaking territories alike, and their leading poets like Ḥāfiẓ, Mullā Shihāb Mu'ammā'ī and 'Urfi called Khusrau by that name.[2]

[1] Tażkirat ush Shu'arā, p. 105 (Bombay).

[2] Cf. Ḥāfiẓ:—

شکّر شکن شوند همه طوطیانِ هند   زین قندِ پارسي که به بنگاله می رود

Cf. Mu'ammā'ī's chronogrammatic verse giving the date of Khusrau's death:—

شد عدیم‌المثل یک تاریخِ او   واں دگر شد طوطيِ شکر مقال

(*vi*) Sultān ush Shu'arā.

This title is also among his proud titles. It is not known whether it was given him during his lifetime or after his death, but this much is certain that he had this title conferred upon him by competent judges of Persian poetry.[1]

Khusrau compared with Firdausī, Sa'dī and other leading poets of Persia.

Khusrau stands first among all the Persian and Indian poets both with regard to the volume of his work and the variety of his subjects. According to the modest calculation of his biographers as well as his own,[2] he wrote less than *five* and more than *four lacs* of *baits* (lines). Firdausī has to his credit *sixty thousand* verses in his *Shāhnāmah*, to which may be added *ten thousand* verses more, at a most liberal calculation, including his *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* (9,000) and occasional poems (1,000), all told *seventy thousand* verses. Sa'dī's work too, as is extant, remains below *one lac baits*. Khusrau's other features are his speed and versatility which are possessed by few

Cf. 'Urfī:—

به روحِ خسرو ازین پارسی شکر دادم   که کامِ طوطیِ هندوستان شود شیرین

[1] Cf. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddiṣ Dehlevī calling Khusrau by that name:—

وی سلطان الشعراء و برهان الفضلاء است

(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 99)

[2] Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction.

poets in Persia under Islām. While Firdausī is, undoubtedly, a master of *maṣnawī*, Sa'dī of *ghazal*, and Kamāl i Ismā'īl, Khāqānī, Anwarī, Ẕahīr and 'Urfī of *qaṣīdah*, our poet singly is a master of all, with the credit of completing the books like the *Ghurrat ul Kamāl* and the *Maṯla'ul Anwār* within *fifteen days* each.

Apart from these virtues, the royal courts to which he belonged were passionately fond of hearing Khusrau's *ghazals*, and he was required by the kings to bring fresh compositions with him every day. The *Arbāb i Nashāṯ* of the Sulṯāns had standing orders to wait for Khusrau's new *ghazals*, and sing them every day to the accompaniment of musical instruments in the royal presence. Khusrau, thus, had this onerous duty to perform, and bring to the court, irrevocably, new *ghazals* every day on the subject of *love* and in praise of the art and beauty of the *Arbāb i Nashāṯ*.[1] Such an arduous and delicate position

[1] Cf.

و هر روز امیر خسرو دراں مجلس غزلهاي نو آور دي و سلطان شیفتهٔ
غزلهاي امیر خسرو شده بود –

(Barnī, p. 199)

Also cf.

امیر خسرو که ملک‌الندماء مجلس سلطان بود هر روز در وصفِ جمالِ
سادهٔ پسرانِ ماهرو. . . . و در جاں نوازيِ دلربایانِ مایهٔ ناز غزلهای تازه و
تر آوردي –

(Ibid., p. 200)

could hardly be said to have been the fate of any of the poets at the Persian court.

Khusrau's alleged Hindī works.

Khusrau's Hindī poems are said to be as large in bulk as his Persian poems are. This view is held by some later writers who have been cited as authority by Khusrau's biographers. Shiblī also believes in Khusrau's Hindī works, and refers to Auhadī, author of the '...rafāt *ul 'Āshiqīn*, as expressing such a view. The other source of this information is said to be Mīr Taqī Mīr (an Urdū poet of the 18th century A. D.), who is quoted by some as saying in his *Nikāt ush Shu'arā* that Khusrau's Hindī verses were being sung at Delhi in the author's time.[1] The third source, which is mentioned by some chroniclers with greater confidence, is Khusrau's own statement in his Introduction to the *Ghurrat ul Kamāl.*

All these sources are, however, so meagre and historically poor that no reliance can be placed on the alleged view. Khusrau's statement, which is the best source and a deciding factor, is as follows:—

[2]پیش ازیں از شاهان سخن کسے راسه دیوان نبود مگر مرا که خسرو
ممالکِ کلامم – مسعود سعد سلمان را اگرچه هست اما آں سه دیوان در

[1] His version is as follows:

اشعار ریختة آں بزرگ بسیار دارد دریں خود ترددے نیست از
انجمله یک قطعه تیمناً نوشته آید –

[2] Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction.

عبارتِ عربی و فارسی و هندوی است و در پارسی مجرد کسے سخن را سه قسم نکردہ جز من -

> Before this, none from among the kings of poetry had *three dīwāns* but me, who am the sovereign of the territories of speech; although Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān possesses *three dīwāns*, yet those *three* are in Arabic, Persian and Hindī languages, and no one divided Persian poetry exclusively into *three* kinds but me.

Khusrau's statement is clear on this point. He assigns the Hindī work *not* to himself but to his predecessor, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān; and further emphasises the fact that all his *three dīwāns* are exclusively in Persian, there being none in Hindī. This authoritative declaration must set all speculation at rest. Besides, no reference to his Hindī *dīwān* ever occurs in any contemporary record. Even Barnī's *Tārīkh i Fīrūzshāhī*, which gives a brilliant account of Khusrau's poetical career, is silent on the point. Hence it is inconceivable how some later writers, who came to live centuries afterwards, could assign Hindī works to Amīr Khusrau, unless he was mistaken for one of his namesakes who lived and wrote in Birj Bhākā in the later Mughal age. Among the notable figures one was Khusrau Khān whose name is first heard under Shāh Jahān. It seems very likely that Taqī Auḥadī and Khusrau Khān were known to each other, and the former referred to his comrade's Hindī

poems.

The other was Mīr Khusrau, who flourished in Aurangzēb's time. The Hindī works commonly assigned to Amīr Khusrau Dehlevī by the modern writers, like Mīr Taqī Mīr, Āzād and others, could probably be no other than those of this Mīr Khusrau. Their statements, therefore, which have no historical background beyond their own surmise or hearsay reports, must be taken with caution, since there exists, besides Khusrau's own denial, strong internal evidence against the possibility of the alleged Hindī works belonging to the 7th century A. H.[1]

Khwājah Hasan Sanjarī Dehlevī.[2]

The second great poet of the age was Khwājah Amīr Najmuddīn Ḫasan bin 'Alā'uddīn Ḫasan Sanjarī of Delhi. He was the *poet-laureate's* personal friend and companion at the royal courts. The historian Barnī's intimate acquaintance and frequent meetings with the poet give us some valuable information about his life and works. Another contemporary

[1] For detailed discussion under this head, vide: A History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court, Vol. I, pp. 66-68.

[2] A valuable collection of the poet's Persian *ghazals*, *qaṣīdas*, *rubā'iyāt* and *maṣnawīs*, together with a short review of his life in the Urdū language, is published at Hyderābād (Deccan) under the patronage of the late Mahārāja Sir Kishen Prāsād, K.C.I.E., entitled:—

دیوان حسن سجزی دهلوی

(Dīwān i Ḥasan Sijzī Dehlevī)

historian, Shaikh Muhammad Mubārak 'Alavī *alias* Amīr Khurd, who, like Barnī, knew the poet full well, has made some equally important observations about his poetical worth and genius. He was born and bred at Badāūn and Delhi respectively, as is evident from his following verse:—

پروردهٔ فضلِ ایزدش ارشادِ غیبی مرشدش
بودهٔ بدایون مولدش دهلی است منشاء داشته

His father's name was 'Alā'uddīn Hasan Sanjarī, who was later known by the short title of *'Alā i Sanjarī.*[1]

[1] The editor of the *dīwān*, Maulānā Mahvī, calls the poet Sijzī, *not* Sanjarī, which he believes to be an error of the copyist. He further doubts the authenticity of the word *'Alā*, a puzzle which he is unable to solve.

'Alā, in fact, is a short form of 'Alā'uddīn, which was the name of the poet's father. This view, which is held by more than half a dozen Persian and Indian chroniclers belonging to widely different periods of history, admits of no ambiguity whatsoever:

Cf. Jāmī:—

لقب و نسبتِ وی نجم‌الدین حسن بن علاءالسنجری است الخ -

(Nafahāt, p. 549)

Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlevī:—

امیر حسن بن علاءسنجری دهلوی الخ

(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 101)

Ghulam Husain Gulshan Lāhaurī:—

خواجهٔ نجم‌الدین حسن المخاطب به امیر حسن بن علاءالدین حسن

Date of his birth.

The date of his birth is not given in any historical or biographical work, but according to some authorities he

سنجری دهلوی رحمة الله تعالی یکے از فضلاء و شعرای عهدِ سلاطین خلج است - گویند لقبِ وی امیر از قدیم است که اجدادش در عهدِ سلطان سنجر سلجوق ازین نسبت ممتاز بوده اند -

(Majmū'ai Taẕkār, fol. 43 b.)

Amīr Shīr 'Alī Khān Lōdī:—

خواجه حسن دهلوی.... و هو نجم الدین علاءالسنجری الخ

(Mir'āt ul Khiyāl, p. 48)

Muftī Ghulām Sarwar:—

میر حسن علای سنجری قدس سره از ساداتِ عظام الخ

(Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, p. 329)

Mīrzā Sa'dullāh:—

امیر حسن سنجری دهلوي بن علاءالدین حسن یکے از شعراي عصر الخ

(Malfūzāt i Auliyā, p. 54)

In addition to this testimony, the authority of the two most distinguished orientalists is as follows:—

(*i*) Dr. Rieu in his Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the B. M. gives the father's name *'Alā'uddīn Sanjarī.*

(*ii*) Dr. Sprenger also in his Oudh Catalogue gives the full name *'Alā'uddīn.*

Again, the epithet of the poet has been clearly transcribed by both English and Persian writers in the manuscripts as well as in the printed editions

was older than Amīr Khusrau.[1] The difference between their ages does not, however, appear to be of more than a year. In a Preface to his *qaṣīdah* entitled *Khamsīn* preserved in his *dīwān*, of which a good manuscript copy exists in the Khudā Bakhsh Khān's Public Library at Bānkīpūr, he says that he wrote this work in the reign of Sulṯān 'Alā-'uddīn Khiljī, and completed it on Sunday in the month of *Rabī 'ul Awwal* 714 A. H., when he was 63 years of age,[2] thus establishing the fact that he was

as *Sanjarī* not *Sijzī*. It appears that some ancestor of the poet held a high rank in the service of Sulṭān Sanjar Saljūqī, in consequence of which the family retained the distinction of being known as *Sanjarī* as a mark of hereditary honour. This view is based on the statement of the author of *Majmū'a i Tazkār* quoted above.

[1] Cf. the statement of Shaikh 'Abdul Ḫaq Muḫaddiṣ Dehlevi:—

اورا نسبت به میر خسرو تقدم گونه هست اگرچه هر دو مصاحب و معاصرِ یک دیگر بودند –

(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 101)

[2] Cf.—

جمع کردنِ این مجموع و ربطِ این معانیِ مطبوع در عهدِ همایونِ علاءالدنیا والدین ظل اللّٰه فی العالمین خلد اللّٰه ملکه و سلطانه و اعلی امره و شانه بوده است و درین ایام بندهٔ حسن را که صبح از افقِ وفاد میده و سالِ عمر بشست و سه رسیده . . . چون اشارت اصحاب را طاعت داشتن واجب بود و بحکم ایشانرا بحکم مصادعت پیش آمدن اوراق این دیوان

born in 651 A. H., one year prior to Amīr Khusrau.

His merit as a *ghazal*-writer.

While Khusrau's poetry, particularly *ghazal*, was admired by Sa'dī, Hasan's *ghazal* was considered superior to that of Amīr Khusrau. The latter himself acknowledged Hasan's excellence in *ghazal*, and boastfully imitated him, as is evident from the following verse:—

خسروا شعر تو اسرار حدیث است مگر
کز سخنهاي توام بوي حسن مي آيد

O Khusrau, thy verse is the store of secrets of speech, perhaps
From thy utterances comes forth the breath of Hasan.

Barnī's statement about Hasan: "Sa'dī of Hindūstān".

Ziyā'uddīn Barnī, the contemporary historian, relates that Hasan, during his very life-time, was given the title of سعدي هندوستان (Sa'dī of Hindūstān) which made him the peer of Persia's grea-

بتحریر آمد و معاملهٔ این مصالح را قد لکے پیدا شد اتفاق عہد این عرایس
نفایس را روز یکشنبه غرهٔ ماه ربیع الاول سنه اربع عشر و سبعمایة –

(Preface to *Khamsīn*, Mss., K.B.K.P.L., Bānkīpur.)

N. B.—I am indebted to my worthy friend Prof. N. A. Nadvī, M.A., of the Ismā'īl College, Bombay, for his very kindly supplying me with a copy of the much-needed *Khamsīn* and its Preface.

test *ghazal*-writer then living.[1] This is evidently due to the fact that Hasan in his poetry displayed the virtues of Sa'dī more fully and bore closer resemblance to him than did any other poet of the age. This characteristic feature of Hasan was later pointed out by many a poet and critic as well as by himself.[2] The great Indian writer, Shiblī, has very clearly expressed his view about Hasan's *ghazal* in the following words:—

[3]حسن کا تذکرہ ہم الگ نہیں لکھتے – صنف غزل پر اُنکا خاص احسان
ھے –. . . . جو سوز و گداز اور جذبہ و اثر اُنکے کلام میں موجود ھے اُنکے
کشتۂ محبت امیر خسرو میں بھی نہیں –

> We do not propose to write an account of Hasan separately. He has put *ghazal* under special obligation. The pathos, charm and

[1] Cf. the statement:—

و دویم شاعرے از شعراي یگانه در عصرِ علائی امیر حسن سنجري
بوده است و اورا تالیفاتِ نظم و نثر بسیار است و بسلامتیِ ترکیب و روانیِ
سخن آیت بوده است و از بسکه غزلهاي وجدانی در غایتِ روانی بسیار
گفته است اورا سعديِ هندوستان خطاب شده بود –

(pp. 359-60)

[2] Cf Hasan's verse:—

حسن گلے ز گلستانِ سعدي آورده است   که اهلِ معنی گلچیں ازاں گلستانند

[3] Shi'r ul 'Ajam, Vol. I, pp. 131-32.

effect, which exist in his poetry, are not to be found even in his devoted friend Amīr Khusrau.

His works:—
(*i*) Fawā'id ul Fuwād,
(*ii*) Dīwān.

Among his writings, the most important, besides the *dīwān*, is his prose-work entitled *Fawā'id ul Fuwād* which he wrote to please his spiritual guide, Shaikh Niẕāmuddīn *Auliyā* of Delhi. It contains the utterances of the saint and a sketch of his life, and is held in great esteem by the Ṣūfīs all over India even to this day. Amīr Khusrau's remark about this work is as follows:—

[1] کاشکے تمام تصنیفاتِ من بنامِ حسن بودے و ایں کتاب از من بودے –

Would that all my writings be in the name of Ḫasan, but this book be in my name.

It was undertaken in 707 A. H., and finished in about 15 years' time in 722 A. H.

(*iii*) *Marṣiyah.*

The second noteworthy item is his elegy in prose, which he wrote on the death of Sulṭān Muḫammad, better known as Khān i Shahīd. It appears somewhat peculiar for a poet to write an elegy in prose against the accepted form and the prevalent custom of the times. But this unique departure on the part of Ḫasan might be due to the

[1] Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 101.

fact that his friend Amīr Khusrau had already written an elegy in verse, which was unsurpassed. Hence the former did, perhaps, consider it fit for himself to do his duty in prose. It is reproduced here in full as a rare specimen, illustrating his art in making his prose as effective as poetry for the purpose of elegy:

مرثیۂ امیر حسن

دیر باز است تا سپهرِ ستمگر اگرچه مدتے عقدِ موافقت می بندد و عهدِ مصادقت می پیوندد بر می گردد و روزگار ناسازگار اگرچه رسمِ رضا می نهد وعدۂ وفا می دهد در می گذرد آسمان شوخ چشم که مردمکِ مردمی او به خسِ خساست معیوب است اگرچه اول چوں مستاں بے آنکه هیچ کرمے باعث باشد چیزے می بخشد و لیکن آخر چوں طفلاں بے آنکه هیچ خیانتے مانع آید باز می ستاند عادات و معهودات جافے همبریں منوال چه به تجارب و چه به تسامع دیده و شنیده آمده است که هر کرا چوں ماه بر آمده می بیند می خواهد که روی کمالِ اورا بداغ نقصان سیاه کند و هر کرا چوں ابر بر سر آمده می یابد دراں می کوشد که جوهر اورا پاره پاره در اطرافِ آفاق پراگنده کند دریں باغ حیرت و بستانِ حسرت چنانکه هیچ گلے بے خار نرست هیچ دلے از خارِ خار نرست ای بسا سبزۂ نورسته که از خزانِ آفت در مقام لطافت زرد روی مانده و ای بسانهالِ نو خاسته که از تند بادِ اجل در خاکِ زمین پهلو نهاده بیت

در بادِ خزاں بیں که چه حد سردی کرد بر سر و جواں چه ناجوانمردی کرد

یکے از امثالِ ایں تمثیل واقعۂ خسرو ماضی قا آں ملک غازی است انار الله برهانه و ثقل بالحسنات میزانه روز آدینه سلخ ماهِ ذی حجه سنه

ثلث و ثمانین و ستمایة (۶۸۳) که ماه چوں مہر در دل کافر هیچ جا پدید نبود آفتاب بمصاحبتِ لشکر اسلام تیغ زناں بر آمد و شاهزادهٔ اعظم که آفتابِ آسمانِ ملک بود نورانیتِ غزا درغرهٔ غر ای او لایح و جهدِ افراطِ جهاد در ضمیرِ منیر او ثابت پای مبارک در رکاب آورد شبانه بر رای مشکل کشای عرضداشتند که ایتمر باتمامي لشکر بسه فرسنگی فرود آمده است چوں بامداد شد بر عزیمتِ کوچ ازاں مقام نهضت فرمود و بیک فرسنگی آں ملاعین پیش باز آمده بموضع مصاف در حدودِ باغ سریو بر کرانهٔ آبِ لاهور اختیار کرد چنانچه متصل آب دیهے بزرگ بود آنرا حصن حصین ساخت و صورت بست که چوں کفار مقابل شوند هر دو آب در عقبِ لشکر باشد تا نه ازیں جمله کسے رو بفرار تواند نهاد و نه ازاں مخاذیل ساقهٔ لشکر را آفتے تواند رسید والحق آں اختیار از غایتِ حزم و نهایتِ کارداني آں خانِ جهاں ستاں بود اما چوں قضای بد می رسد سر رشتهٔ همه مصالح در تاب می رود و سلکِ همه تدبیر ها از انتظام می شود – شعر

هر کرا از بختِ بد راه اوفتد کار او در کام بد خواه اوفتد
بخت چوں دیوانه از ره گم شود عقل چوں شب کور در چاه اوفتد

قضارا آنروز ماه و آفتاب که نسبت بملوک دارند نشانهٔ ماهی آویخته بودند و مریخ که سرخروئي او همه از خونِ اعیان مملکت است همه از ترکشِ آں برج خدنگِ خذلاں و طعانهٔ طغیاں می کشاد خان جوزا کمر را که اسدی بود از برجِ آبي خانهٔ خوف و خرابی و دلایل فتن و مخایلِ فتور بریں نوع ظاهر و باهر و رمز و اشاراتِ جاءالقضا ضاق الفضا در سیاقِ اوراق تحریر افتاد –

القصه نیم روز است که سوار چرخ در ولایتِ نیمروز رسید و روز آں شاه گیتی فروز را وقتِ زوال نزدیک شد ناگاه گروهے از سمتِ آں کفره پدید

آمد خانِ غازی هماں زمانِ سوار شد و مثال داد که تمامی خیل و خدم و حاشیه و حشم او بر تضیهٔ اقتلوا المشرکین کافة صفے صد بار قوی تر از سدِ سکندر بر کشیدند بعد از ترتیبِ میمنه و ترکیبِ میسره بذاتِ عالی صفات در قلب گاه چوں در جمعِ کواکبِ ماه بجهاد ایستاد و کفار تتار علیهم الخذلان و الخسران از آبِ لهاور عبره کردند و مقابلِ صفِ اسلامیاں در آمدند ازیں وحشیانِ خرابی دوست بیاباں زاده پر هاى بوم بر سرِ شوم خود نهاده و غزاتِ اسلام از ملوکِ ترک و خلج و معارفِ هندوستاں و سائر سپاهی در نماز گاهِ معرکه ازاں جهت که مصطفے علیه الصلوٰة والسلام جهاد را باصلوٰة نسبت فرمود که رجعنا من الجهاد الاصغر الی الجهاد الاکبر تکبیر گویاں دست بر آوردند و در اول حمله چندیں زبردستاں را از خیلِ مغول زیر تیغ گذرانیدند و نیزهٔ ملوکِ درگاه در اعضای اعدا چناں می نشست که نیزه وار از بالای هر یک خون بر می خاست و شستِ ترکانِ خاص تیر دریافته چناں می بود که جامهٔ بود بر اهلِ تتار تار تار می شد — بیت

در اوّلِ تک خدنگِ شه جست   گشتند تتاریاں همه پست

خدایگانِ شیر دل شمشیر زن با شمشیرے چوں عقیدهٔ خود صاف از میانِ مصاف هر بار حمله می آورد شمشیر گوئی دراں حرب گاه بر شمایل آں شاه می لرزید و همه تن زبان شده با و می گفت که امروز دفع ایں ملاعین به بندگانِ دولت حواله کن و بنفسِ نفیس خود حرکت مفرمای که شمشیر دو رویه است و تیغ اجل را زخمے بے محابا نتواں دانست که از تقدیرِ قادر بر کمال بکه رسد من از عین الکمال چشم می زنم — شعر

مر و تا خاکِ تو بر چشم بندم   مکن کز چشمِ بد اندیشه بندم

فلک روئے چناں روشن ندیده است   من از دیده بر آں آتش سپندم

تا زمانے که در میدانِ سیرِ غزا و رسومِ هیجا با قامت می رسانید

هر یک از اسلحه بزبان حال در مقال آمده نیزه می گفت که شاها امروز دست از من کوتاه کن که زبان سنان من از بسیاری جدال و قتال کند شده و مرا در روی خصم مجال طعن نمانده مبادا که بر جهم و حرکت پریشان از من بظهور آید و تیر می گفت ای عقد شست تو عقدهٔ جوزا بر کشاده بقصد این فسده پیش مرو من خود در رفتن مهلکه خاک بر سر می کنم نباید تنگ چشم فلک که بر بام پنجم است و بر در خانهٔ هشتم در گوشهٔ کمین از کمان کید و کین بر سبیل جسارت و جفا بر تو خدنگ خطا روان کند و کمند می گفت که امروز سر رشتهٔ تدبیر از دست تفکر نمی باید داد که من ازین جنگ بی درنگ و رزم بی حزم تو بر خود می پیچم ساعتی توقف کن که اسلام و اسلامیان چون طناب بر بستهٔ خیمهٔ نعم تواند الله الله با این طایفه رسم طناب اندازی را چندین اطناب مده – شعر

من به رغبت پیش تو سر بر طناب آورده ام
تو کمند از زلف اندازی کمند انداز من

فی الجمله آن شاه دین پناه کفر کاه بهمه قلب سپاه باین گروه گمراه از نیم روز تا شامگاه غزوے بے اجبار و اکراه می کرد و غوغای وغا و غلیان طالبان سوغره غزا گوش گیتی و اسماع سماءکر کرده زبانهای آتشین که از سر نیزهٔ غزا مغز می خاست و زبانهای تیغ که در گذاردن پیغام اجل یک حرف خطا نمی کرد دران قیامت همه بدین آیة روان بود که یوم یفر المرء من اخیه پشت زمین چون چشم پیران بصر بباد داده پر خون ' وروی آسمان چون فرق پسران پدر کشته پر گرد – شعر

آهن شمشیر چون آتش چه تابی ای پدر
یا مرا داغ یتیمی بر جگر خواهی نهاد

هم در عین این عنا و اثنای این آشوب و بلا ناگاه تیرے از شست قضا

بر بالِ آں شہبازِ فضای غزا رسید و مرغِ روح از قفس قالبِ آنحضرت بجانبِ گلشن و روضۂ رضوانِ نقل کرد انا للّٰہ و انا الیہ راجعون ہماں زمان پشتِ دینِ محمدی صلی اللّٰہ علیہ وسلم چوں دلِ یتیماں زار بشکست و سدِّ ملتِ احمدی صلی اللّٰہ علیہ وسلم چوں گورِ غریباں پست بیفتاد و اعتضادے کہ بازوی ملک را بود از دست بشد و اعتمادے کہ بیضۂ اسلام داشت از جای برفت راست وقتِ غروبِ آفتاب عمرِ آں شاہ کہ آفتابش زرد شدہ بود بمغربِ فنا فر و رفت و گردوں بر شعارِ سوگواراں جامہ در نیل زدہ و اشکِ سیارہ بر اطرافِ رخسارہ رواں گردیدن گرفت زحل بر وقفِ قضای وفا و شرطِ عز اکسوت سیاہ گردانید و از مرگِ او بر اہلِ ہندوستان نوحہ می کرد و مشتری بر دریغِ آں اندامِ گرد اندود قبای خون آلود دراعہ چاک می کرد و دستار بر خاک می زد و مریخ کہ دستِ قوتِ او چوں چشمِ ترکان و روی معیشتِ او چوں جعدِ زنگیان تنگ و تاریک باد از تا سفِ آں خارِ خار کہ در دل خوں انگیخت چوں حوت در پیشِ آفتاب و چوں حمل در قبضۂ قصاب می طپید و آفتاب از شرمِ آنکہ چرا در دفعِ ایں حادثہ و قمعِ ایں واقعہ نکوشید بر نیامد و در زمین فرو شد و زہرہ چوں دید کہ اجرام از چنگِ ایام چہ زحمت یافتند زاد فی الطنبور نغمۂ دف را ورق بگردانید و سماع در پردۂ دیگر آغاز کرد و بر وفاتِ آں شاہِ بندہ نوازِ خود بجای ساز نالیدن گرفت و عطارد کہ در غزوات و فتوحات بر موافقتِ کاتب فتحنامہا در قلم می آورد دراں نظم از سوادِ دواتِ خود روی سیاہ می کرد و از اوراقِ دفترِ خریطش پیراہن کاغذ ین می پرداخت و ماہ حالی در صورتِ ہلالی باقامتِ منحنی دراں قیامت زمین سر بر دیوار و در افق می زد و مراتبِ مراثی نگاہ می داشت — نظم

روی بخاک می نہی وہ کہ چنیں نخواھست
ماہِ زمانۂ مرا زیر زمیں نخواھست
گر بشکاز می روی جانِ منست خاکِ تو
خلوتِ خاک خوش بود جانِ من این نخواھست

حق تعالیٰ و تبارک روحِ مطہر و مطیبِ آن شاھزادۂ غازی را بمدارج اعلیٰ و مراتبِ والا بر ساناد و دمبدم جام مالامالِ تجلیِ جمال و جلال خویش بخشاد و هر شفقت و مرحمت و عاطفت و تربیت که در حق این شکستۂ بیکس داشت سببِ مزیدِ در جات و محوِ خطیاتِ او گرداناد آمین یا ربّ العالمین –

He lived the pious and retired life of a Ṣūfī, specially in his later days, after he had become a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn *Auliyā*. Before this event, it appears that he was given to wine-drinking, and lived a free unrestricted life.[1]

His life and death.

[1] Cf. his own verses:—

اي حسن توبہ آنگہے کردی که ترا طاقتِ گناہ نماند

بسیار خطا کردی باز آی حسن اکنوں روۓ بہ زمیں آور درویشيِ درویشاں

جز سیہ کاری نکردی تا سیاهت بود موی
چوں سفیدت شد کنوں بعد از سیاهی رنگ نیست

Also, in the following couplets (addressed to his spiritual guide) he recalls his sins before the transformation had

He was for some time in the service of the royal army, but had given it up to attain the bliss of remaining permanently with his Shaikh at Delhi. He had also severed his connections with the royal *darbārs*, and devoted his time peacefully to religious observances for the purification of his soul.

He died at Daulatābād in 738 A. H., about 12 years after Khusrau's death. The date was found in the words: مخدوم اولیا

We must now turn to his *ghazal* which is said to rank with that of Sa'dī of Shīrāz, and reproduce some specimens here, with their English translation, for the entertainment of our readers who might also judge his claim to be called "*Sa 'dī of Hindūstān*". His own view about his *ghazal* is: شعرِ حسن شعرِ متین خامهٔ غزل سحرِ مبین

Specimens of his *ghazal*.

غزل

یا رب بکش خطِّ کرم بر سیّآتِ ماMضی

پرهیز ها کردم ولے جاءالقضا ضاق الفضا

taken place, complaining that his long association with the Shaikh had failed to bring about the desired end:—

سالها باشد که ماهم صحبتیم. گر ز صحبتها اثر بودے کجاست

زهدِ تاں فسق از دلِ ماکم نکرد فسقِ مایاں بهتر از زهدِ شماست

Further, there are sundry statements in the *Fawā'id ul Fuwād* which fully support the above view.

گردِ ارادت بیختی بر فرقِ جانم ریختی
جانم به نفسَ آمیختی نفسم بزنجیرِ قضا
گر روضه سازی در رهم جاں در رضای تو دهم
هرگز برابر کَی نهم صد روضه را با یک رضا
شاخے که فعلم بزند جز فضلت آنرا نشکند
از فضلت ایں واجب کند وز رحمتت ایں اقتضا
در ماندم از بارِ گراں لب خشک چوں تو داماں
ز ابرِ کرم سیلے براں بر کرد هاى مامضا[1]
همچو حسین ام خستهَ تن از جورِ مشتے شورِ فن
چشم رضا نِه بر حَسن حقّ علیِّ مرتضا[2]
یا رب ز فَرطِ نیکوئی قولم نگهدار از دوئی
خود بهتریں حافظ توئی فالله خیر حافظا

ایضاً

ای روی تو ماهِ محفلِ ما جُز عشقِ تو نیست در دلِ ما
ما عشقِ ترا بجاں خرِیدیم اینست ز عمرِ حاصلِ ما
از خلد و نعیم بے نیازیم تا کوی تو گشت منزلِ ما
از روی چهٔشرم نیست مه را کاید همه شب مقابلِ ما
بیچارهٔ حسن ترا نہاں گفت
پیداست که کیست قاتلِ ما

[1] مامضی
[2] مرتضی

ایضاً

دل شد و دنیا شد و دین ساقیا　　گر همه رفتند تو بارے بیا
جام تو بر دستِ چو من مفلسے　　حقهٔ غیب است پُر از کیمیا
تا چو قرابه نشوی پاک دل　　خرقه نکو نایدت از بوریا
هرچه دهی باز ازانت دهند　　کرده ام این تجربت از آسیا
این دل گمره شده نشنید پند　　دیدهٔ اعمیٰ چه کند توتیا
باز کجا ایستد این آبِ چشم　　تا نه دمد از گلِ گورم گیا
ای حسن این زهد چه آوردهٔ
زهدِ درون رخنه و بیرون ریا

ایضاً

بنده را تدبیر جز تسلیم نیست　　سرّ تو اندازهٔ تفهیم نیست
ره اگر بر تیغ یا بر آتش است　　هرکه را همره تو باشی بیم نیست
اخترم روشن شد از خاکِ درت　　این سعادت در همه تقویم نیست
نور رویت را تجلی خواند عقل　　نیّرِ اعظم بدین تعظیم نیست
در چراغ اشکِ خون از روی زرد　　وجه زر پیدا کنم گر سیم نیست
چون کنم سلطانِ عشق ار حکم کرد　　حکم سلطان را به از تسلیم نیست
نکتهٔ عشق از تو آموزد حسن
گرچه درسِ عشق را تعلیم نیست

ایضاً

اندر غمِ تو ام سر و سامان چه حاجتست
چون دردم از تو باشد درمان چه حاجتست

جانا فدای دوستی تست جانِ من
عاشق بدوست زنده بود جاں چه حاجتست
عشاقِ روی تو به تماشا نمی روند
مرغ بهشت را بگلستاں چه حاجتست
یک چشم زد لبِ تو دهد عمر جاوداں
چندیں حدیثِ چشمهٔ حیواں چه حاجتست
هرکه بتو رسید رسیدش همه مراد
کشتِ رسیده را نم باراں چه حاجتست
خیز ای رقیب بر در او چه نشستهٔ
در های آسمان را درباں چه حاجتست
حاجتکهٔ حسن در رلحت رسان تست
امید کز درت برسد آں چه حاجتست

ایضاً

دوستاں در سرم امروز هوائے دگر است
گلِ امیدِ مرا بوی وفائے دگر است
روشنائیِ دگر یافتم اندر دمِ صبح
در پگه خاستگاں صدق و صفائے دگر است
ای تنک دل که تو از دادنِ جاں میترسی
مردن اندر نظرِ دوست بقائے دگر است
از من و تو سخنِ اهل حقیقت ناید
مرغ آں باغچه را بانگ و نوائے دگر است

من خود آتشکدهٔ محنتم و دلبر را
دمبدم در حق این سوخته رائے دگر است
خطِ مشکینش دلِ خون شدهٔ را درهم کرد
زلفِ درهم شده اش باز بلائے دگر است
چند پیچی حسن از عقدهٔ زلفِ خوباں
کین سر رشته که جنبید ز جائے دگر است

ایضاً

دل که در و چاشنیِ سوز نیست محرمِ اسرار دل افروز نیست
حالِ صلاحیتِ صبرم مپرس آنچه که دی داشتم امروز نیست
غمزهٔ خوباں صفِ جاں می درد عقل دریں معرکه پیروز نیست
ترکشِ آں ترکِ جگر خواره را نیست خدنگے که جگر دوز نیست
ای دلِ نا پخته به عشقش بسوز خام بود هر که در و سوز نیست
ابجدِ عشقش تو چه دانی که چیست عشق چو قرآں صبی آموز نیست
دم مزن از صبح و صال ای حسن
چونکه شبت را اثرِ روز نیست

ایضاً

دل بداغِ یارِ من بهتر چو با من یار نیست
خوش دلے دارم که در وی جز غمِ دلدار نیست
بر درش با آنکه نبود بار بارے بگذرم
کاشکے این بار خود گوید که بگذر بار نیست

گر زند هر جانبے چوں آفتابم تیغِ تیز
گو بزن از جانبِ من ذرّهٔ آزار نیست

بس خوش است این مجلس ار یارم در آید خوشتر است
آنکه شیرین جوی شد با جوی شیرین کار نیست

تشنهٔ دیدارِ یارم چند گوئی از بهشت
من نه باشم در بهشتے کاندرو دیدار نیست

وصل میخواهی قدم از کوی هستی باز کش
کیمیا در حقهٔ غیب است در بازار نیست

انچه من دارم درونِ سینه از سرِّ حسن
چوں برون اندازمش کاندازهٔ گفتار نیست

ایضاً

ای دوست ترا بر سرِ وقتم گذرے نیست
از حالِ دلِ بیخبر انت خبرے نیست

گفتی بگلستاں رو و در لاله و گل بیں
چیزے که مرا با تو بود با دگرے نیست

ای من سگِ کوی تو مزن سنگِ جفایم
زاں رو که مرا جز درِ تو هیچ درے نیست

زاں می که لبت خورد نصیبِ منِ مسکیں
کمتر مکن از جرعه اگر بیشترے نیست

پرهیز میسرنشد از زخم که زد عشق
حیلت چه کنم تیرِ اجل را سپرے نیست

ای خواجهٔ عاقل تو دلِ خویش نگهدار
بر دل شدگاں عیب گرفتن هنرے نیست
سر در سرِ سودای بتاں کرد حسن باز
ای خاک براں سر که دراو دردِ سرے نیست

ایضاً

کو دیدهٔ کز فراقِ رخِ تو پُر آب نیست
کو دل که در کشاکشِ عشقت خراب نیست
روزم تو بر فروز و شبم را تو نور بخش
این کارِ تست کارِ مه و آفتاب نیست
ای محتسب تو خیمه بخمّار خانه زن
بگذر ز ما که مستیِ ما از شراب نیست
آں میزباں که کاسه مهیا همی کند
گو هیچ لقمه خوش مزه تر از کباب نیست
گفتی ترا چه سوز و چه شورست در سماع
این زاں سوالهاست که آنرا جواب نیست
بے حلقهٔ کمندِ سرِ زلفِ نیکواں
گر کعبه می رویم دعا مستجاب نیست
هر دُر که در خزانهٔ دل داری ای حسن
آنرا بسلکِ کلک کشیدن صواب نیست

ایضاً

با سرِ زلفِ تو مارا سر و سودائے هست
وصل هرچند محالست تمنائے هست
دیدهٔ گر از رخِ خوبِ تو ندید آسایش
سینه را از غمِ دیرینه دل آسائے هست
نگذاری که سرت گردم و پایت بوسم
آخر این کار مرا هیچ سر و پائے هست
لبِ تو خواستم از غمزه زدی نَیش آرے
هرِ کجا فرض کنی خارے و خرمائے هست
خاق گویند دلت راز کجا صبر آمد
اے دل از صبر نشانم دِه اگر جائے هست
ای که نظارهٔ دیوانه نکردی هرگز
قدمے رنجه کن این سوی که رسوائے هست
دمبدم تیره مکن روزِ حسن را امروز
آخر اندیشه کن امروز که فردائے هست

ایضاً

چه رویت آنکه گوئی نو بهار است   غلط کردم بهشتِ روزگار است
بنقد امروز با او در بهشتم   مرا بانسیهٔ فردا چه کار است
اگر هر دو جهاں از پا در آیند   چه غم چوں پایهٔ عشق استوار است
خرد معزول و عشق اندر تصرف   عسس بیرون و دزد اندر حصار است
همه عمر از لبِ میگونِ معشوق   مرا مستی و حاسد را خمار است

اگر قصدے کند زلفِ چو مارش شکایت چوں کنم او یار غار است
ببوسم نامۂ خود روز محشر که از خطِ سیاهش یادگار است
گرم چو گاں زند بر سر بزن گو نه ایں گو از براے آں سوار است

حسن از چشمِ شوخش گوشۂ گیر
هنوز آں ترکِ مست اندر شکار است

ایضاً

عالمِ عشقت جهانے دیگر است
آستانت آسمانے دیگر است
عقل را از دفترِ عشقت چه علم
آں ورقها را نشانے دیگر است
دوزخ اندر راهِ مشتاقان تو
هر شرارے بوستانے دیگر است
عالمے پُر شد ز خاموشی من
بے زباناں را زبانے دیگر است
هرگزم در باطنِ من جا نبود
خلقِ ظاهر را گمانے دیگر است
عشقِ ابروی تو خونِ من بریخت
وه که آں تیر از کمانے دیگر است
با بلا هاى تو عادت کرد نیست
عافیت اندر جهانے دیگر است
درد و راحت در جهاں بسیار بود
دردِ تو راحت رسانے دیگر است

جاں بدیں یک بیت داد است آں بزرگ
آرے آں گوهر ز کانے دیگر است
"کشتگانِ خنجرِ تسلیم را
هر زماں از غیب جانے دیگر است"
ای حسن سودات زحمت می دهد
وه که آں رخت از دکانے دیگر است

ایضاً

کو دلے کز دستِ تو صد پاره نیست   یا بشمشیرِ غمت آواره نیست
سرّ عشقت از دلِ عشاق پرس   عقل را زحمت مده این کاره نیست
خوار گشتم در غمت طرفه تر آنک   اندریں غم جز غمم غمخواره نیست
آفتاب از کوه جلوه می کند   با سرِ پایان این نظاره نیست
با حسن گوئی که بے من صبر کن
صبر بے تو حدِ ایں بیچاره نیست

ایضاً

سروے چو قدِ تو در چمن نیست   مشکے چو خطِ تو در ختن نیست
هر پیرهنے که می درد گل   بوئے تو به هیچ پیرهن نیست
بر چوں تو کسے دگر گزیدن   کار دگر یست کار من نیست
دایم سخن از لبِ تو گویم   شیریں تر ازیں سخن سخن نیست
از عربده های من چه رنجی   دیوانه بدستِ خویشتن نیست
جاں پیشِ خیالِ تو نشاندیم   مارا سر بے تو زیستن نیست
گفتی که چرا جدائی از من
ایں از فلک است از حسن نیست

ایضاً

ساقی شبِ ما شبِ دراز است — مَی دِہ کہ درِ اُمید باز است
رویت نگریم و سجدہ آریم — در مذهبِ ما همیں نماز است
شهنامہ چہ خواست کرد محمود — او عاشقِ قصۂ ایاز است
با وصلِ توام نساخت کارے — ایں کار بدستِ کارساز است
از ناز نمی کنی بمن روی — روئے کہ تر است جای ناز است
از زلف و رخِ تو عشرتم را — شمعِ روشن شبِ دراز است

تا شیوۂ تست سر بسر ناز
تدبیرِ حسن همہ نیاز است

ایضاً

تا دو چشمِ تو مست و فتّا نند — همہ عشاق در تو حیرا نند
مَی لبت خورد و مست چشمِ تو شد — گیسوانت چرا پریشا نند
گر بجائے سر اندر آری تو — جاں بگردِ سرِ تو گر دانند
بے دلاں را رعایتے کن از آنک — ار دمے بے تو اند بے جا نند
تو هم اینجا و ماز تو غافل — مکّیاں قدرِ کعبہ کَے دانند
عارفاں نگذرند از درِ تو — بلبلاں پائے بندِ بستا نند

ای حسن صوتِ بلبلاں چہ خوش است
گوئیا گفتۂ تو می خوا نند

ایضاً

رسمِ عاشق چیست جاں در عشق جاناں باختن
هم بیک دادِ نخستیں کفر و ایماں باختن
بر بساطِ عشقبازی قایمست ایں تعبیه
از بتاں دل بردن از اصحابِ دل جاں باختن
ایں دلِ گو دیدهٔ رسوا چه بازم در رهش
پاکباز آنست و آنجا قلب نتواں باختن
ذره را گفتم که رقص است اینکه پیدا کردهٔ
گفت عشق آفتاب آنگاه پنهاں باختن
نقدِ جاں در ششدر عشقش بنه عیار وار
اینچنیں نردے نمی شاید هراساں باختن
گیسوی او بر دلم منصوبها آورد کج
عاقبت او بُرد با چندیں پریشاں باختن
کعبتینِ چشم غلطانی و بازیها دهی
تو حریفِ شوخ چشمی با تو نتواں باختن
ای حسن بازآی از زلف و زنخدانِ بتاں
پیر گشتی خوب ناید گوئے و چوگاں باختن

O God, draw a line of forgiveness on our past sins,
I observed abstinence, but what was destined came to pass, and the atmosphere became close;
Thou didst sift the dust of Thy Will, and threw

it on the forehead of my life,
Thou didst mingle my life with *self* (passion) and bound my *self* with the chain of Destiny;
If Thou layest a garden on my path, I shall give my life for Thy Will,
How could I place a hundred gardens equal to a single Will of Thine?
If a branch shoots from my action, it does not blossom except through Thy Bounty,
Thy Bounty makes this blossoming inevitable, and Thy Mercy makes that shooting necessary;
I became tired of the heavy load, and my lips are parched like those whose aprons are wet (sinful),
Cause a downpour from the cloud of Thy Mercy over my past deeds; My body is wounded like that of Ḫusain through the tyranny of a handful of rebels,
Keep a kind eye on *Ḫasan* for the sake of 'Ali, the chosen;
O God, out of Thy extreme goodness, keep my utterance away from duality,
Thou art the best Protector: فاللّٰه خیر حافظا [1]

O Beloved, Thy face is the moon of our assembly,
There is naught but Thy love in our heart;

[1] This is a quotation from the Holy Qur'ān, meaning, "Verily, God is the best Protector."

We have purchased Thy love for our lives,
This is the net result of our lives;
We are independent of Paradise and its dainties,
Since Thy street has become our abode;
Does not the moon feel shy before Thy face
That it remains the whole night our rival?
Poor *Hasan* uttered Thy name in secret,
It is evident who is our assassin.

The heart, the world and religion are all lost, O cup-bearer,
If all went away, thou at least mayst come;
Thy cup in the hands of a beggar like me,
Is a casket from the Unseen full of alchemy;
Until thou becomest pure-hearted like a glass pitcher,
Thy garment is no better than a mattress;
Whatever thou givest is returned to thee,
This I have experienced from a grinding mill;
This straying heart did not listen to the advice,
Of what use is antimony to the eye of a blind man?
Where again will this water from my eye stop its flow?
Until grass is grown from the dust of my grave;
O *Hasan*, what sort of piety hast thou brought?
A piety which is hollow inside and has hypocrisy outside.

For a slave there is nothing better than submission;
Thy secrets are beyond the scope of comprehension;
The path if it lies on the edge of a sword or on fire,
Of whomsoever Thou art a companion he has no fear;
My star is lit from the dust of Thy door,
This luck is not to be found in the whole of the starry world;
Wisdom called the light of Thy face Thy Manifestation,
The great star (sun) does not possess this grandeur;
In the light of the lamp lit with the tears of blood;
I should produce gold from my pale face, if there be no silver;
What could I do if the king of *love* gave orders,
There is nothing better than submission to the royal commands;
Hasan learns the secret of *love* from Thee,
Although the lesson of *love* is not taught.

Where is the need for me to have worldly goods in my love for Thee?
When Thou art the cause of my pain, where is the need for me to seek the remedy?

O Beloved, I sacrifice my life for Thy love,
The existence of a lover depends on his beloved: of what use else is life to him?
The lovers of Thy face do not go out sight-seeing,
The bird of Paradise does not require a garden;
One slight movement of Thy lip bestows eternal life,
Where is the need for so much talk about the "Stream of Life"?
Whoever reached Thee attained all his desire,
Of what use is the moisture of rain to a ripe harvest?
Begone ye rival, why art thou sitting at His door?
Where is the need of a porter for the Gates of the sky?
The avowed goal of *Hasan* is Thy comfort-giving door,
At Thy door, he hopes, the need will be fulfilled.

O friends, in my head a new desire has arisen today,
The flower of my hope has a different smell of fidelity;
I discovered a new lustre in the morning,
The early risers possess unusual purity and truthfulness;

O light-hearted, thou art afraid of giving life,
To die is an eternal life in the eye of the beloved;
From me and thee the speech of the possessors of
Reality does not come,
The birds of that garden have a different voice
and note;
I myself am a fire-place of torture, and my belov-
ed
Every moment holds a different opinion of me,
the burnt;
The musky locks of the beloved have perturbed
my heart which is turned into blood,
His scattered tresses are again a fresh evil;
O *Hasan*, how long wilt thou be restless because
of the knot of the curls of the beloved!
Since the pulling of this thread of attachment is
from a different place.

The heart which has not the taste for burning
Is not the confidant of the secrets that illumine
the heart;
Do not ask me of my power of patience,
What I had yesterday is not with me today;
The coquetry of the beautiful breaks through
rows of lives,
Wisdom in this campaign is not victorious;
In the quiver of that bloody Turk,
There is no arrow which does not pierce the liver;

O unripe heart, burn in his love,
One who has no burn within is raw in love;
What dost thou know of the alphabet of his love?
The lesson of love is not the *Qur'ān* which is taught to children;
O *Hasan*, do not talk of the morn of Union,
Since for thy night there is no sign of day.



Better my heart should be with the scar of the love of my beloved, when he in person is not present with me,
I have a happy heart which has nothing inside but the love of the beloved;
By his door, although there is no access to it, I wish I may pass once,
Would that this time he may himself say, "Go, thy way, there is no check";
If my sun (beloved) strike his sharp sword on every side,
Tell him that he should begin from my direction, there is not the slightest danger;
This assembly is quite merry, but it will become all the merrier if the beloved comes in,
For he who is the seeker of *Shīrīn* has nothing to do with the *Jū i Shīrīn* (stream of sweet water);
I am thirsty for the look of my beloved—how long wilt thou go on talking of Paradise!
I would not live in a Paradise where there is no

sight of the beloved;
If thou desirest for Union, withdraw thy footsteps from the lane of existence,
Elixir is in a hidden casket, and is not to be found in the market;
Whatever I possess within me from the secrets of *Ḥasan*
How could I give out, for it is beyond the power of speech.

O friend, thou dost not ever happen to pass by me in my lifetime,
Thou art not aware of the affairs of thy lovers who are lost in thy love;
Thou didst say to me, "Go to the garden and look at the beauty of the tulip and the rose," (but)
The object I have with thee, I have not with any one else;
O friend, I am the dog of thy street, do not strike me with the stone of cruelty,
Since there is no other door for me except thy door;
Of the wine that thy lip tasted, bestow on my poor lot,
Do not lessen a draught, if thou canst not increase it;
I could not avoid the wound inflicted by love,

What device could I have recourse to? for there is no shield against the arrow of Death;
O wise Khwājah, take care of thy own heart,
It is no merit to find fault with those who have lost their heart;
Ḥasan has once again given his thoughts to the love of the beautiful,
Oh, dust be on that head which has not the ache for some one's love.

What eye is not filled with tears in separation from thee?
What heart is not ruined in the struggle for thy love?
Thou dost brighten my day and illumine my night,
This essentially is thy work, and is not the business of the sun or the moon;
O Qāẓī, pitch thy tent at the tavern,
Leave us alone, for our intoxication is not due to liquor;
Tell the host who provides the wine cup,
That no morsel is more tasteful than the roast meat;
Thou sayst to me, "What burn and what ecstasy have I in music"?
These are questions which have no answer;
If, without being attached to the tresses of the

beloved,
We go to the *Ka'bah*, our prayers are not acceptable;
Every pearl that thou hast in the treasury of thy heart, O *Hasan*,
It is not advisable to string in the chain of thy pen.

I am mad after thy tresses,
Although Union is impossible, yet there is a wish;
Although the eye did not get comfort from thy beautiful face,
Yet the breast finds a consoler in its long-cherished pain;
Thou dost not permit me to go round thee and kiss thy feet,
Is there any beginning and end to my work?
I desired to kiss thy lip, but thou didst prick me away with thy coquetry,
Aye, dates are associated everywhere with thorns;
People ask me, "Wherefrom has thy heart got patience"?
O heart, point out the place, if there be one, where patience could be found;
O thou, who hast never seen a mad man,
Take the trouble of coming over to this side,

because here is one ignominious like me;
Do not darken the days of *Ḥasan* every moment now,
Just think today that there is a tomorrow to come (Day of Judgment).

What face is that? as if it were a new spring,
Nay, it is the paradise of the world;
I am with him in paradise today,
What have I to do with tomorrow which is to come?
If both the worlds go to ruin,
What fear is there, when the pillar of love is firm?
Wisdom is suspended and *love* is in power,
The police-officer is outside the fort, while the thief is in;
For the whole of my life, from the tipsy lips of the beloved,
I am drunk, while the jealous is suffering from the after effects of intoxication;
If his curly lock, which is like a serpent, attacks me,
Why should I complain? for it is "a friend of the cave";
I shall kiss my account-sheet on Doomsday,
For my black record reminds me of the black hair of my beloved;

If he would hit my head with his polo-stick,
  tell him to do so,
Is not that ball meant for that rider?
O *Hasan*, hide yourself in a corner from his
  dazzling eye,
For that drunken Turk is still a-hunting.

The world of Thy love is a different world,
Thy threshold has a different sky;
What knowledge does Wisdom possess of the
  book of Thy love?
Those leaves have a different script;
The hell in the path of Thy lovers (is as if)
Every spark of it is a fresh garden;
The whole world is filled with my silence,
For the tongueless there is a different tongue;
Never was there a place for me in my inner heart,
  (but)
The worldly people think otherwise;
The love of Thy eyebrow has shed my blood,
Aye, that arrow is from a different bow;
One has to get accustomed to Thy tyrannies,
Peace is to be sought in a different world;
There is plenty of happiness and misery in this
  world,
The pain of Thy love gives a new comfort;
That sage gave his life for this one verse,
Truly that jewel was from a different mine;

"For those killed with the dagger of Submission,
"Every moment there is a new life from the Unseen";
O Hasan, thy madness is giving trouble,
Oh, thy commodity is from a different shop.

Where is a heart which is not broken into a hundred pieces at thy hands?
Or has not gone into exile on account of the sword of separation?
Ask the secret of thy love from the heart of the lovers,
Do not give trouble to Wisdom, for it is not its business;
I have become humiliated in thy love, and what is stranger still is that
In this grief there is no consoler except my own grief;
The sun throws its first gleam from above the mountain,
Those below cannot witness this scene;
Thou sayst to Hasan, "Keep patience without me",
Patience without thee is not within the power of this helpless one.

A cypress of thy stature is not in the garden,

Musk like thy hair is not in *Khutan*;
Every petal of its garb that the rose tears off
Does not give forth thy scent;
To give some one else preference over thee
Is the work of some one else, not mine;
Always do I talk of thy lips,
Sweeter than this speech is no other speech;
Why dost thou grieve at my quarrels?
A mad man is not in his own control;
We sacrificed our lives at thy thought,
We have no thought of life without thee;
Thou didst say to me, "Why art thou separated
from me"?
Aye, it has come from the sky, and is no fault
of *Hasan*.

O cup-bearer, my night is a lengthy night,
Give me wine, for the gate of the hope of for-
giveness is open;
We see thy face, and bow in reverence,
In our religion this is the only form of prayer;
What has Maḥmūd to do with the *Shāhnāmah*?
He is a lover of the story of *Ayāz*;
For thy union no effort of mine could mature,
This work is in the hands of the Accomplisher
of tasks;
Thou dost not look at me through pride,
Thy face is the object of pride for me;

From thy curly locks and face, there is for my
 assembly
A burning candle and a long night;
Till as long as thy mode of life is out and out
 coquetry,
The motto of *Hasan* is all submission,.

Since both thy eyes are intoxicated and mis-
 creants,
All thy lovers are bewildered at thy hands;
Thy lips have tasted wine, and thy eyes have be-
 come intoxicated,
Why are thy tresses perturbed?
If thou wilt make thy appearance in a certain
 place,
People will make their lives 'go round thy head';
Show some concession to the people who have
 lost their heart, because
If they are without thee for a moment, they are
 without life;
Thou art here with us, but we are unmindful of
 thy presence,
The people of Mecca know not the value of the
 Ka'bah;
Those who know thee do not leave thy door,
The feet of the nightingales are chained to the
 garden;
O *Hasan*, how sweet is the note of the night-

ingales!
As if they are singing thine own verses.

What is the custom of a lover? It is to lose his life in the love of the beloved,
Also to lose at one stake *belief* and *dis-belief* (in God);
This is an accepted theory in the game of love:
'For the beloved to snatch the heart: and for the owners of the heart to lose life;'
How could I sacrifice this defamed unworthy heart in his path!
He is pure, and an impure thing cannot be surrendered there;
I said to the particle, "What is this dance that thou hast adopted"?
He replied, "It is the love for the sun, and the secret observance of it;"
Place the cash of thy life in the *love-chamber* having six doors,
Such a game-piece ought not to be so desperately moved;
The tresses of the beloved planned evil designs for my heart,
At last it managed to win by playing so many tricks;
Thou didst throw the dice of thy eye playfully,
Thou art a bold and fearless gamester: none

could play with thee;
O *Hasan*, refrain from the tresses and the chin of the beautiful,
Thou hast grown old: it does not behove thee to play with the ball and the bat.

Popularity of Persian under Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans.

Persian gained immense popularity among the peoples of all ranks under the kings of the Slave dynasty, notably under Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans. The impetus given to it by Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān's unprecedented patronage is already described in detail. He had planned to make Multān the *Shīrāz of India* by converting it into a big seat of oriental learning in the East. For this purpose he had appointed permanent *jāgīrs*, collected large funds and persuaded his father, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban, too to make handsome endowments for its maintenance. He had twice invited Sa'dī from Shīrāz to come to Multān to be its first Rector. What is still more important is that the public taste for Persian was largely awakened and people from the highest to the lowest ranks were showing a keen interest in Persian speech. Instances of the cultivation of such a taste by the public are to be noticed in the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād, who himself was a great patron and lover of Persian poetry.

He desired that the historic event of his meeting and reconciliation with his father be recorded in Persian verse, for which he specially deputed the *poet-laureate*, Amīr Khusrau, who wrote his famous *Qir'ān us Sa'dain* (conjunction of the two lucky stars) with a zeal and skill worthy of the theme.

The public taste for Persian poetry was so widespread that the *qawwāls* (reciters of *qaul*: speech[1]), amateur as well as professional singers, musicians and dance-girls were all deeply interested in Persian poetry and knew by heart *ghazals* of standard living poets like Sa'dī, Khusrau, Khwājah Hasan and others, which they sang in every home and assembly to which they were invited. Once the Sultān, on the advice of his father, took a vow not to indulge in his usual court luxuries any more. This news perturbed the *Arbāb i Nashāt* and cast a gloom on the whole community at the prospect of their losing the royal patronage and consequently their influence and income too. They, therefore, set themselves to the task of remedying this evil which threatened their very existence as a class. They selected a large number of accomplished and handsome girls who were known for their fine taste for Persian poetry and music, of whom there was no dearth in the kingdom, and trained them fully in the address and manners worthy for royal companionship. Once

[1] Technically, 'reciters of Sūfī poetry'.

when the Sultān was due to return to his capital from his journey to Oudh, the *Arbāb i Nashāt* quickly availed themselves of this opportunity and, in accordance with a settled plan, disposed these girls in groups on both sides of the road at every halting-place until his destination, and made them sing to him each day, as the royal procession approached, songs of welcome in Persian to arrest his attention.[1] The Sultān, though he was very much affected thereby, was, however, unmoved and continued to resist the temptation resolutely until several halting stages were passed, but yielded at last when he could no longer restrain himself. It so happened that the plotters, seeing the failure of their device and the Sultān's apathy for the dance-girls, promptly changed their plan, and got one of them, who knew riding as well, dressed in a brilliant uniform and made her appear before the royal person, riding on a horse, like a Prince going out for *shikār*[2]. The Sultān's Ministers and the body-

[1] Cf.

و همچنین که سلطان معزالدین از اودهه جانبِ دهلی مراجعت فرمود چهار پنج منزل قطع کرد هر روز قومے از مهوشانِ سرو قد و از سرو قدانِ گلعذار . . . بر سرِ راه می ایستادند و بوقتِ آنکه کوکبهٔ سلطان می رسید خود را نمودار می کردند و سرو دمی گفتند –

(Barnī, p. 157)

[2] Cf.—

تا روزے در اثنای سوارے کذ اغازی بچه مهپاره شنگی و شوخی بلائی

guards were all completely duped and did not interfere with the young rider, as they took him for a *bona-fide* Prince. So did the sentinels and the Police-officers who became so much charmed and dazzled by his beauty and smart appearance that they dared not question his identity and mission[1]. In this fashion the young girl-rider pushed her way through, and when she came right in front of the Sulṯān she got down from her horse, laid herself low on the ground, and then rising slowly recited this most brilliant and opportune verse from Sa'dī:

[2] گر قدم بر چشمِ من خواهی نهاد　　دیده بر ره می نهم تا می روی

افتی بی بدلی قبای زر نگاری پوشیده ترکشِ زر اندود به کمر بسته و دمِ شیره در ترکش آویخته و کلاهِ شاهانه تا نیمهٔ گوش بر سر نهاده بر اسپے سبز خنگ دم بر افراشته با ساختِ ملمع و زرهٔ هزار میخی برنگِ شکار اندازان. . . . از میانِ فوجِ شاه بیرون آمد و اسپ را بتاخت و بهٔ پیچانید و پیشِ کوکبهٔ سلطان بدوانید –

(Ibid. p. 158)

[1] Cf.—

و نزدیکان را و آنانکه در فوجِ شاه میرفتند گمان افتاد که مگر ملکزادهٔ دنبال شکاری دوانیده است. . . . و چاؤشان و نقیبان که پیش کوکبهٔ سلطانی چقماقها و گرزها بردست گرفته می رفتند چنان از جمالِ آن مه پیکر مد هوش گشتند که از در آمدنِ او مقابلِ چتر منع نتو نستند کرد –

(Ibid.)

[2] Ibid. p. 159.

If thou wilt put thy step on my eye,
Must I place my eye on thy path, so that thou
mayst pass.

Then she begged the Sulṯān for permission to recite the opening verse of the *ghazal*, which she said was more appropriate for her to recall in paying her humble duty to the "emperor of the world", but could not do so for fear of royal displeasure. The Sulṯān was so much struck by the beauty and talent of the young visitor that he stayed his horse and granted the permission sought for, saying "بخوان و مترس" (recite and fear not). She immediately sang:

[1] سروِ سیمینا بصحرا می روی   نیک بد عهدی که بے ما می روی

O silvery cypress, thou art going towards the
jungle,
How finely faithless art thou that thou art going
without us!

At this striking display of poetic taste, the Sulṯān was amazed and looked admiringly at the actor who then, taking courage and feeling the ground soft, divulged the secret and told the Sulṯān how hundreds of her sex had come all the way from the remote corners of the empire seeking his *darshan*. The Sulṯān, who was already completely won over, broke his vow and took wine, reciting the following verse

[1] Ibid.

which, in turn, reveals his own taste for Persian poetry:

[1] شب ز مَی تو به کنیم از بیم ناز شاهداں
بامداداں روی ساقی باز درکار آورد

When she heard this verse from the Sulṯān, she forthwith responded:

[2] غمزهٔ عابد فریبم زاهدِ صد ساله را   موی پیشانی گرفته پیشِ خمّار آورد

The Sulṯān too recalled suitable verses until the party entered the royal tent, where a special banquet was arranged for the occasion. The Sulṯān then declared her to be the chief guest, and desired that she should preside over it by acting as *Sāqī* and bestow upon him cups full of wine, an honour which she willingly and gratefully accepted. She filled her first cup and offered it to the Sulṯān with the following verse:

[3] ما گرچه که خوبتر زماهیم   هم بندهٔ بندگانِ شاهیم

Although we are more fair than the moon,
We are slaves of the slaves of the king.

To this the Sulṯān rejoined:

[4] قدح چوں دور من آید بنزدیکان مجلس دِه
مرا بگذار تا حیراں بمانم چشم در ساقی

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid. p. 160.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

She then continued saying, "نوش شاهجهان نوش شاهجهان" (drink, O emperor of the world, drink). The Sultān retorted:

[1] اگر ساقی تو خواهی بود مارا   که می گوید که مے خوردن حرام است

Shouldst thou become my cup-bearer,
Who says "to drink wine is forbidden"?

At this stage, she took the permission of the Sultān to present to him her comrades, many of whom, she said, were waiting outside then and there, eager to pay him their humble duty and homage. When they were led in, the Sultān and the whole court were amazed at their beauty, and the poets in attendance recited off-hand *ghazals* in their praises.[2].

Such was the general literary atmosphere created in Hindūstān in this age. The fine poetic taste of a common girl, as shown above, and her quick selection and recitation of verses from classical poets, and possibly from her own extempore compositions too, to suit proper moments, needs no comment and

[1] Ibid. p. 161.

[2] Cf.—

فرمان شد تا آں طائفه را پیش آوردند چوں در جمالِ ایشاں نظر انداختند یکے از یکے خوبتر و زیباتر و نغز شیریں تر بودند....و سلطان را از شوخیِ آں ره دیدگاں عجب آمده....و سلطان چناں فریفتۀ ایشاں می شد که بیست گان سی گان هزار تنکه آں طائفه را می بخشید....و در صفتِ آں خوباں تازه و تر غزلهای جدید می گفتند –

(Ibid. pp. 161-163)

speaks for itself.

Ẓiyā'uddīn Barnī is India's first great historian[1]

[1] Among Barni's colleagues at the court, there were several writers whose contributions to the historical literature of the times were of special value. Some outstanding personalities were the following:—

(*i*) Malik Qiwāmuddīn Dabīr "'Umdat ul Mulk",
(*ii*) Amīr Arsalān Kulāhī, and
(*iii*) Kabīruddīn, son of Tājuddīn 'Irāqī.

Cf. Barnī's remarks about their respective merits:—

و ملک قوام‌الدین علاقه که هم عمدة‌الملک و هم مشرف بود و درکار فضل و بلاغت و دبیری و انشاء آیتے بوده است و درکار دانی و کار کشائی معروف و مشهور گشته و در دبیری و سر دبیری مهارتے داشت اگر بهاءالدین بغدادی و رشید و طواط و معین اصم که دبیران و منشیان آثار گذشته بوده اند مراسلاتِ ملک قوام را بدیدندی انگشتِ حیرت بدندان گرفتندی و تا چه ساحریها که در فتحنامهٔ لکهنوتی کرده است –

و از مؤرخانِ عصر علائی یکے امیر ارسلان کلاهی بوده است که چندان تواریخِ سلاطینِ ماضیه اورا محفوظ بود که هر چه از تواریخِ سلاطینِ سلطان علاءالدین ازو پرسیدی یادداشت تقریر کردی و بدیدنِ کتبِ تواریخ محتاج نبودی و در علمِ تاریخ مهارتے تمام داشت و درین علم اوستادِ شهر بود –

دویم از مؤرخانِ اوستاد در عصرِ علائی کبیرالدین پسرِ تاج‌الدین عراقی بود که در فنونِ فضل و بلاغت و هنرِ دبیری و انشاء سرِ آمدِ عهدِ علائی و عصرِ خویش بوده است....و در تالیفِ نثرِ عربی و فارسی یدِ بیضا می نمود و در فتحنامها مجلدات پرداخته است و دادِ نثر نویسی داده و گوی سبقت از سرانِ سلف و خلف ربوده است –

(Ibid. pp. 169 and 361)

Ẓiyā'uddīn Barnī, India's first great historian.

who wrote his famous history entitled the *Tārīkh i Fīrūzshāhī*[1] in the reign of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq. All his predecessors like 'Utbī (author of the *Tārīkh i Yamīnī*), al-Bīrūnī (author of the *Kitāb ul Hind*), Baihaqī (author of the *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī*) Sadruddīn Muhammad (author of the *Tāj ul Ma'āṣir*) and Minhāj Sirāj Jauzjānī (author of the *Tabaqāt i Nāsirī*) were foreigners who had come down to India from Persia and the Central Asian States.

Date and place of his birth.

The date of his birth is not preserved in any historical record, but it may safely be fixed between 684 and 685 A. H.[2], when Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban was ruling India. He was called *Barnī* because his birth

[1] It is to be noted that there are *three* separate works of the same name by different authors: Barnī, Shams Sirāj 'Afīf and A'azzuddīn Khālid Khān, who lived at about the same time. Shams Sirāj wrote his work after Barnī's death, at the invitation of the Sultān; while the work of the last-named could not be traced, though references to it occur in some histories like the Rauẓat us Safā by Mīr Khwand, and the Khulāṣat ut Tawārīkh by Sujān Rāi of Batāla, who lived and wrote his work in the reign of Aurangzēb.

[2] *Note*: Barnī relates that he was 74 years of age at the time of writing his history (758 A. H.), thus establishing the fact that he was born in 684 A. H. Cf:—

منکه ضیاء برنی مؤلفِ تاریخِ فیروز شاهیم و عمرم بهفتاد چهار سال که
دو نیم قرن بود در نوشته است

(Ibid. p. 573)

took place at *Barn*, a town in the district of modern *Balandshahr* in the U. P. This town was of strategic importance, and had a strong fort outside it, which was known as قلعهٔ برن. Its governors were appointed from among the aristocracy and men of tried ability and trust. Barnī's father, too, who was among the influential nobles, held its governorship for several years. Even Altamash, when he was a Prince, held the office of the Supreme Commander of this fort.

His early life and education.

The young boy did not remain at home for long, but went to live with his father at Delhi, which afforded him better opportunities for education. He finished the Holy Qur'ān and learnt to write in the Persian characters in the reign of Sulṭān Jalāluddīn Khiljī,[1] and completed the rest of his education in Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn's time. His tutors were all, without an exception, men of profound learning, who had come down to India from their respective homes in Bukhārā, Samarqand, Khurāsān and Trans-Caspian towns for fear of Mongol raids and devastations. He has recorded the names of 46

[1] Cf.—

و من که مؤلفِ تاریخ فیروز شاهی ام در عهدِ جلالی قرآن تمام کرده بودم و از مفردات گذشته و خط آموخته

(Ibid. p. 205)

learned men of his time, with some of whom he actually read books and held discussions, while others he only met or occasionally associated with, during his long stay at Delhi[1]. He was from the very beginning disposed towards religious and Ṣūfīstic literature, and took great pains in reading books on the commentary of the Holy Qur'ān, Ḥadīṣ and Muslim Jurisprudence. Amīr Khurd states that Barnī, while quite young, had become a disciple of Shaikh Niẓām-uddīn *Auliyā*, and went to live with him at Ghiyāṣpūr.[2]

[1] Cf.—

و در تمامی عصر علائی در دار الملک دهلی علمائے بودند که آنچناں استاداں که هر یکے علامهٔ وقت و در بخارا و در سمرقند و بغداد و مصر و خوارزم و دمشق و تبریز و صفاهان و ری و روم و در ربع مسکون نباشند ....چنانکه قاضی فخرالدین نا قله....الخ و این چهل و شش استاد مذکور که من القاب اسامی ایشان نوشته ام آنا نند که من در پیش بعضے تلمذ کرده ام و بخدمت بعضے رسیده و بیشترے را در مسند افادت دیده ام ....و دائم سبق می گفتند –

(Ibid. pp. 352-4)

[2] Cf.—

او از ابتدائے بواسطهٔ شفقت پدر بزرگوار....بسعادت ارادت سلطان المشائخ مشرف گشت و....در غیاث پور ساکن شد –

(Siyar ul Auliyā, p. 312)

His position and prestige at the court of Sulṯān Muhammad Tughlaq.

Sulṯān Muhammad Tughlaq held Barnī in the highest esteem, and showed him unusual favour and kindness. He remained in the Sulṯān's service for over 17 years, and received great attention and wealth from the latter[1]. The Sulṯān also consulted Barnī on important affairs of the State and occasionally acted upon his advice and counsel.[2] Such a position was held by no one

[1] Cf.—

منکه مؤلفِ تاریخِ فیروز شاهیم هفده سال و سه ماه ملازمِ درگاهِ سلطان
محمد بودم و از انعاماتِ و افره و صدقاتِ متواترهٔ او زرها یافته –

(Barnī, p. 504)

[2] Cf.—

(*i*)

و دراں چهار پنج روزِ ماهِ رمضان که سلطان محمد در قصبهٔ سلطان‌پور
وقفه کرده بود در آخرِ شب داعیِ ضعیف ضیاءبرنی را طلب شد و بنده
را سلطان فرمود که فلاں می بینی که چه فتنها می زاید.....و بعدِ آں
سلطان بنده را فرمود که تواریخ بسیار خواندهٔ جائے دیدهٔ که پادشاهان در
چند جرم سیاست کرده اند بنده گفت که منِ بنده در تاریخِ کسروی خوانده
ام الخ –

(*ii*)

و سلطان مرا گفت که دریں هفت سیاست از مصطفیٰ صلی الله علیه
وسلم در چند سیاست حدیث آمده است و برای پادشاهان چند تعلق دارد
من عرضه داشت کردم که در سه سیاست چنانکه ازیں سیاستهای هفتگانه

else at the court. Even the Ministers dared not open their mouths in the royal presence lest they should give offence to the Sulṯān. But Barnī, though he was fully alive to this danger, never shrank from his duty as a Counsellor to speak the truth with courage and conviction, which for ever enhanced his rank and prestige.

His relations with Amīr Khusrau and Khwājah

حدیثِ مصطفی علیه‌السلام وارد شده است چنانکه ارتداد و قتل مسلم و زنای محصن و چهار سیاست دیگر برای سلاطین و در صواب دیدگیِ ملک متعلق است و هم در ذنابهٔ فائدهٔ مذکور جمشیدِ مذکور گفته است که پادشاهان الخ —

(*iii*)

از شهر بخدمتِ سلطان پیوستم......و سلطان مرا بسیار نوازش فرمود و روزے من در رکابِ دولتِ سلطان می رفتم و سلطان با من حکایت کنان میرفت که حکایتِ بغاة درمیان افتاد و سلطان مرا گفت که می بینی که امیرانِ صده حرامخوار چگونه فتنها می انگیزند الخ —

(*iv*)

روزے منکه مؤلفِ تاریخ فیروز شاهی ام در پیش تخت طلب شدم و سلطان این ضعیف را می گفت که ملکِ ما مریض گشت و به هر تداوی مرض نمی رود.....و مرا فرمود که پادشاهانِ مقدم در این امراضِ ملکی چه فرموده اند بنده عرضه داشت کرد که در کتبِ تواریخ علاجے که پادشاهانِ متقدم امراضِ ملکی را کرده اند با نواع نوشته اند الخ —

(Ibid. pp. 509, 511, 516 and 521)

His relations with Khusrau and Hasan, and his taste for Persian verse and history.

Hasan were very friendly at the court and outside it, and remained firm till the last. In fact, he was the cause of their friendship, and was loved and respected by both by reason of a common ideal and gift for poetry. Their attachment was so great that none of the *trio* would suffer separation from one another or could be happy in the absence of the others.[1] His taste for poetry could be judged from his verses that have survived to us, consisting chiefly of *qaṣā'id*, *qiṯ'āt*, *rubā'iyāt* and *marāṣī*. Some specimens are as follows:

[2] ابیات بر حسبِ مشاهدهٔ روزگار خود میگوید

نه کافرم نه مسلمان نه دل بدست نه دینم
خدای بر دلِ من دارد آگهی که چنینم
نه راسخم به امیدی نه واثقم به نجاتی
هزار جای خلل یافت است راهِ یقینم
کجاروم چکنم حالِ خویشتن بکه گویم
نه رایِ رفتن دارم نه روی آنکه نشینم

[1] Cf.

و سالها مرا با امیر خسرو و امیر حسن مذکور تو دد و یگانگی بوده
است و نه ایشان بے صحبتِ من بتوانستندی بود نه من توانستمی –

(Ibid., p. 360)

[2] Ibid., p. 201.

مثالِ سینۀ مور است شرق و غرب جهانم
بسانِ حلقۀ تنگست آسمان و زمینم
مگر خدای کشاید دری ز رحمتِ خویش
که سخت عاجز و بیچاره و غمین و حزینم

در وصفِ سلطان فیروز شاه

[1] ای یک تنه صد لشکر جرارۀ خورسند کارایش این دائرۀ دهر عطائی
محتاج به لشکر نۀ ای آنکه بدولت دارندۀ لشکر گۀ این هفت بنائی
رستم ظفری بلکه فر آمرز شکوهی جمشید فری بلکه کیومرث دهائی
مانندِ علی سرخ غضنفر توئی ارچه نه از شاهِ بدخشانی نه از آلِ عبائی
بر تختِ شهنشاهی و بر مسندِ جمشید ادریس بقا باش که فردوس لقائی

The following were composed in praise of the sons of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq:

[2] یکی بمثلِ سکندر که او جهان گیرد دگر بسانِ خضر عمرِ جاودان یابد
دگر عراق و خراسان مطیع خود سازد دگر بدرگۀ خود چرخ قهرمان یابد

This he wrote praising the building of the Imperial College known as مدرسۀ فیروز شاهی

[3] نباشد اینچنین زیبا بنائے وگر باشد چنین زیبا نباشد

He composed several *qaṣā'id* in honour of his patrons, of which specimens are preserved in his

1 Ibid p. 540.
2 Ibid p. 576.
3 Ibid p. 564.

Tārīkh and other historical works.

Once, a hunting expedition was arranged in honour of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, to which Barnī too was invited. He very aptly recited from memory in the royal presence the following verses of Khāqānī :—

[1] پیشِ تیرش آهوان را از پیٔ ردّو قبول
شیر گردد خون ز بیم و خون شود شیر از رجا
پیشِ پیکانِ دو شاخش از برائے سجدہ را
شیر چون شاخِ گوزنان پشت را سازد دو تا
می شنیدم کز نهیبِ ترس این شیرِ زمین
شیرِ گردون را اَغثنا یا غیاث آمد ندا

A similar example of his taste for elegiac composition is to be found in the following portion preserved in his *Tārīkh*. In this, he has very successfully cited once again the master poets like Sanā'ī and Khāqānī. His elegy is a graceful combination of his own pathetic prose with the emotional verses taken from other standard poets. They show his taste for classical poets whom he read and remembered by heart.

[2] سرِ الپ ارسلان دیدی ز رفعت رفته بر گردون
بمُرد آما بخاک اندر تنِ الپ ارسلان بینی
امیرانے که بر قصرش هزاران پاسبان بودے
کنون بر قبّهٔ گورش کلا غان پاسبان بینی
پرده‌داری میکند بر طاقِ کسریٰ عنکبوت بوم نوبت می زند بر قلّهٔ افراسیاب

[1] Ibid. p. 600.
[2] Ibid. p. 525.

ای داد از دستِ چرخِ بیوفا و فریاد از روزگارِ پُر جفا که شاهانِ جهان پناه و جهانبانانِ انجم سپاه را بر خاکِ مذلت میانِ چهار گز گور روا می دارد سلطانِ شرق و غرب را بزیرِ زحمتِ خواری می پسندد –

مایهٔ زهر است شربِ عالم را | میوهٔ مرگست تخمِ آدم را
ای حریفِ عدم قدم در نه | کم زن این عالم کم از کم را
صبحِ محشر دمید مارا خواب | بانگ زن خفتگانِ عالم را
رستخیز است خیز باز شگاف | سقفِ ایوانِ طاقِ طارم را
شهٔ محمد بخفت در دلِ خاک | نیلگون کن لباسِ ماتم را
پس بدستِ خروش بر تنِ دهر | خاک زن این قبای معلم را

He was essentially a historian and had a refined taste for history. He held the profession of a historian in high esteem, and thought that the taste for reading and writing history was the sole prerogative of great personages and highly respectable and select gentry as distinct from the common people[1]. He knew the good qualities of his *Tārīkh*, and was proud of the integrity and uprightness with which he

[1] Cf.—

اشتغالِ علم تاریخ به بزرگانِ دین و دولت که بکمالات سمر بودند و به بزرگیها درمیانِ مردم سمر شده باشند مختص است و اراذل و اسافل. . . . و بازاریان را در علم تاریخ نه نسبت بود و نه پیشه و نه حرفتِ ایشان باشد و طوائفِ مذکور را دانستنِ علمِ تاریخ هیچ منفعتے نکند و در هیچ محلے بهیچ کار نیاید –

(Ibid. p. 9)

had described the events. He took great care in writing the history of Sulṯān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban and his successor, Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād. He tells us with his characteristic frankness that he was, during these years, in his mother's lap, and recorded the events of their reign not by his own imagination but by faithfully reproducing what he actually heard from his father, grandfather and teachers.[1] His own version about the merit of his book is worthy of notice:—

[2] و من در نوشتنِ تاریخ مذکور زحمت بسیار دیده ام و از مصنفان

[1] Cf.—

این ضعیف (ضیاءبرنی) در جلوس سلطان معزالدین کیقباد نبیسهٔ
سلطان بلبن خرد سال بوده است و انچه اخبار و آثار جهانداری او درین
تاریخ نبشته ام از مویدالملک پدرِ خود و از استادانِ خود که علامهٔ روزگار
بودند سماع دارد -

(Ibid. p. 127)

Also Cf.—

انچه این ضعیف از اخبار و آثار سلطان غیاث‌الدین بلبن در تاریخ
آورده است از پدر وجدِ خود استماع دارد -

(Ibid. p. 25)

[2] Ibid. p. 23.
Also cf.—

من در دیباچهٔ کتاب صدق را از شرائطِ تاریخ نویسی نوشته ام. . . .
و اگرچه من دوستکام باشم و یا نباشم مرا در تاریخ راست و درست می
باید نوشت و نوشتهٔ خود را ببراهین و دلایل ثابت می باید کرد -

(Ibid. pp. 548-49)

انصافها توقع می کنم که این تالیف بسے معانی را جامع است. . . و از انچه هر چه نوشته ام راست و درست نوشته ام این تاریخ واجب‌الاعتبار است –

In another place he declares in confidence that a wonderful chronicle like this has not been produced during the past one thousand years:—

[1]درین تالیف ساحریها کرده دانم و دانایان علم تاریخ که سیمرغ و کیمیا شده اند هم دانند که هزار سال باز مثل تاریخ فیروز شاهی که جامع اخبار و احکام جهانداری است هیچ مورخے را دست نداده است –

Style of his Tārīkh.

The style of his book is generally simple though, here and there, the diction is highly ornate and is interspersed with verses. The portion dealing with Sulṯān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād's personal and private history is specially noteworthy. To this he gave a separate name قبةالتاریخ[2], and considered it to be the best

[1] Ibid. p. 123.
[2] Cf.—

و الّا همین چند ورقے که در اخبار و آثار معزّی نوشته ام و اوراق اخبار عیش و عشرتِ اورا و همعصرانِ اورا قبةالتاریخ نام کرده معانی غزلها دیوانی در وصفِ جمال خوبرویان درج گردانیده که اگر در نظر سخن دانایانِ پیشینه آمدی و در نظر مختر عانِ سلف بگذشتی از تحسین و انصافِ ایشان غبار اندوه از سینهٔ من برفتی. . . . و اگر می خواهم که اوراق مذکور را که از هر کلمه از کلماتِ این اوراق عیشی می چکد از هر لفظی از الفاظِ این تسوید عشرتی می زاید الخ –

(Ibid, p. 165)

specimen of his rich and orotund style.

His last days.

His last days were days of adversity and unhappiness. Though he had always tried hard to please the Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, and even dedicated to him his best work, the Tārīkh, his opponents at the court succeeded at last in poisoning the Shāh's mind against him. After some time, however, the Sulṭān sanctioned for the author a small sum as his personal allowance, which was utterly inadequate to meet his bare needs. Just before his death, which occurred in 758 A. H., he had given away in charity even the clothes which he was wearing, and was buried in the mausoleum of the famous saint, Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn "Auliyā" whose death had taken place in his lifetime.

His works.

His works, as mentioned by his contemporary biographer, Amīr Khurd, were the following *seven*, of which the last-named is the most important:—

1. ثنائ محمدی 2. صلوٰۃ کبیر 3. عنایت نامہ 4. مآثرِ سادات
5. حسرت نامہ 6. تاریخِ آلِ برمک and 7. تاریخِ فیروز شاہی

His learning and character.

Besides being a poet, he was an accomplished scholar of Arabic and Persian. In his youth he developed a taste for history, which later shone bright, eclipsing all his other activities and interests. He was proficient in Islāmic history, Jurisprudence, Logic, Traditions

of the Holy Prophet and the commentary of the Qur'ān: subjects which he also taught for some time at the famous *Madrasah* of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh. He was often invited by Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq to be present at the religious discussions which were held off and on at the royal court, and took active part in them.

By temperament he was very polite and courteous, and was loved and respected by all those whom he once met or associated with. His great virtue, in the opinion of his biographers, was that he seldom failed to attract the attention of the assembly, because of his versatile knowledge and clear speech.

Influence of Hindī on Persian composition in the Pre-mughal era.

The steady influence of Hindī on the Persian composition in the Pre-Mughal era is clearly noticeable. Not only the poets and prose-writers born in India but also the Persian immigrants, who came and settled here, succumbed to this influence. This opens a new chapter and a fresh field of inquiry. In these pages, however, it will suffice to say that since the very inception of the taste for Persian composition in India almost every writer has shown his predilection for Hindī, just as in Persia the writings of Persian authors have been affected by Turkish, French and Russian idiom. Some instances have already been cited of the early 'Arab settlers in Sindh conversing and corresponding

in Hindī.[1] Later, in the Ghaznavīd period, the renowned poets like ʿUnṣurī,[2] Farrukhī,[3] Mīnūchehrī,[4] Mukhtārī,[5] Hakīm Sanā'ī,[6] Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān[7] and others have freely used Hindī words and expressions in their Persian compositions. The last-named left a separate *dīwān* in Hindī, which has been noticed by ʿAufī and Amīr Khusrau. Khusrau too, though there is no proof of his having a similar Hindī work to his credit, has used Hindī words in his *maṣnawīs*. Barnī also has done the same in his *Tārīkh*.[8] Tājuddīn "Sangrīzah", a poet of Khurāsān, who in his boyhood had come away to India in the reign of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamash, says in a *qaṣīdah*:—

1 Supra. pp. 37, 46.
2 ,, p. 189.
3 ,, p. 183.
4 ,, ,, ,,
5 ,, p. 185.
6 ,, p. 261.
7 ,, p. 213.
8 Cf.—

و از سخنِ مسخرگان و بهنڈائیِ بهنڈان و بوالعجبیِ بازیگران الخ –
(Barnī, p. 163)

از پیشِ ملکِ چجهو بیڑۂ تنبول بر گرفته بودند الخ –
(,, p. 182)

و در وقتِ سلطان جلال الدین ٹهگاں در شهر گرفتار شدند الخ
(,, p. 189)

و ٹیکۂ برهمنان در پیشانی لعنتِ خود کشم –
(,, p. 200)

خیز از مثی قدیم مرا سیر کن بر طل
بگذر ازیں حدیث که یک سیر و یک من است

A still more important verse of a pure Hindī poem, composed by a court poet of Sulṯān Mu'izz-uddīn Kaiqubād, is as follows:—

من کی اوجڑی نگری کو تب کریں آبادان
ناصردین سے جب ملیں موجدین کبادان

It is said to be a long congratulatory poem written on the occasion of the historic meeting of the *heroes* of Amīr Khusrau in the *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*: Sulṯān Nāṣiruddīn Bughrā Khān ruler of Bengāl and his son, Sulṯān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād King of Delhi, which took place at the capital in 688 A. H.

Conclusion

Conclusion.

A brief outline of the advent and growth of Persian language and literature in India during the Pre-Mughal era has been given in these pages. It serves as a necessary prelude to the study of Persian life and literature under the Mughals (of which some account has already been published in 3 Parts, from Bābur to Akbar, at Allāhābād). This is the first time when a systematic account has been attempted in India of the literary activities of its people in the field of Persian literature, as compared with Persia, covering a period of over

one thousand lunar years: from the advent of the 'Arabs in Sindh down to the end of the rule of Akbar the Great. It clarifies India's position and its claim for equal partnership with Persia in the service of Persian literature and in the preservation of the integrity of Persian idiom. In short, India produced poets and prose-writers, at every stage of its history, whose writings have been admired and valued in Persia. The latest instance is the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl of Lāhore, whose poetry is inspired and has a new message for the people, the like of which has not been seen in the Islāmic world.

THE END

بدوشِ صبا می رود بوئے یارے چه مرکب سبکرو چه نازک سوارے

On the shoulder of the breeze goes forth the breath of a *friend*,
What a light-footed steed! What a delicate rider!

Letters from the late Hon'ble Justice Dr. Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., LL.D.

ABOUT THE PREVIOUS VOLUMES

Entitled

'A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT'

(BĀBUR - AKBAR)

(1)

Allāhābād

Dated 14th April, 1930

My Dear Mr. 'Abdul Ghanī,

It is very kind of you to send me the two volumes of your *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court.* I am reading them with very great pleasure indeed. They embody the results of considerable research on your part. This will be a unique history which, I am sure, will be highly appreciated by the scholars of Persian.

Sd. S. M. SULAIMĀN

31. 8. 30

Dear Mr. Ghani,

I am much obliged to you for your sending me a presentation copy of the third part of your History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court. It is an excellent work which I am reading with great interest. You have dealt with the subject both exhaustively and lucidly. I am confident that your series will receive the appreciation that it deserves.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

S M Sulaiman

INDEX

N.B.—The method of the spelling of names adopted in the few pages under this head will be found to differ slightly from the one adopted in the text. This has been done to achieve the greatest measure of accuracy which, though very desirable, was found practically difficult to maintain throughout the book in the course of printing, unless another six months' delay in the publication of same could be tolerated. Those who seek scientific thoroughness are referred to this method of spelling.

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A review that appeared in the Statesman, *Calcutta, dated Sunday, November* 2, 1941.

INDIA'S PERSIAN LITERATURE

Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan. *By*. M. ABDUL GHANI (*Allahabad Law Journal Press*).

The author, who is head of the Department of Arabic and Persian in the University of Nagpur, has made his special interest the achievements of Persian language and literature in India. He has published a history of these at the Mughal Court, and in his new large volume continues his purpose of showing that in the world of Persian culture so far as language is concerned India was not an outer land borrowing from Persia as the centre, but a main contributor on even terms, a producer of the same culture. This is not the common view. European Orientalists have not paid serious attention to India from this angle, and few Indian Orientalists have bothered about it. Persian is the language of Persia. Its use everywhere else must have been secondary and derivative. That is the easy interpretation generally followed.

Mr. Ghani will have none of this. Parts of India were in culture, if not politically, parts of Persia, and Lahore could be, and was, as original and important a factor in Persian literature as any Persian city. Mr. Ghani makes some survey of early history, so far as is necessary to his purpose, as also of philology. Persians from their first contact with India found Hindi to their taste, and did not disdain acquaintance with Sanskrit and the Prakrits. An event that opened a new chapter

congratulations on your work: the sincerest gratitude of your old teacher for justifying his faith in you, despite your critics, and my best wishes for the future.

Why don't you join the American Oriental Society? I should account it an honour to nominate you.

Ever yours,
F. W. Buckler

17, York Road,
New Delhi
23rd December, 1941.

Dear Shams ul 'Ulama Ghani,

I appreciate the sentiments that led you to present your latest book on the History of Persian Literature.

The work is worthy of a research scholar of your reputation and experience.

With my best wishes for success in your future undertakings.

I hope you are well and happy.

Yours sincerely,
E. Raghavendra Rao
(Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for Defence)

Anand Bhawan,
Allahabad, May 5, 1942.

Dear Mr. Ghani,

I am grateful to you for sending me through the Allahabad Law Journal Press your book entitled "Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan." The book deals with an attractive subject. I hope to learn much from it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

CHIEF MINISTER
RAMPUR STATE

No. 3561/S

RAMPUR (STATE), U. P.
February 11, 1942.

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter dated January 29, 1942 and for a copy of your book on Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan. The book is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of the subject and represents a very great deal of research. His Highness has asked me to thank you for sending him a copy of the book and to convey to you his appreciation of the splendid work and fine research which lie behind it.

Yours truly,
S. B. H. ZAIDI
(*Chief Minister*)

PATNA UNIVERSITY,
Patna, the 8th May, 1942.

Dear Sir,

I am desired by Dr. S. Sinha, Barrister-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, to convey to you his sense of appreciation of your great kindness in having sent him a copy of your book on 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan,' which he read with pleasure and profit. He is very grateful to you, indeed, for your prompt and kind compliance with his request. He will write to you personally, in due course in connection with the book. Meanwhile, this is just to acknowledge its receipt.

Yours faithfully
Stenographer to Vice-Chancellor

PUNJAB CIVIL SECTT.
Lahore, 6-6-1942

Dear Sir,

I am desired to thank you for sending a presentation copy of your book 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan' to the Hon'ble

Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. He is reading it with interest and congratulates you on its production.

Yours truly
ABDUL HAKIM, P.C.S.
(*Personal Assistant to the Premier, Punjab*)

DR. MD. HAFIZ SYED,
M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.
UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD.

13-A, CHATHAM LINES,
ALLAHABAD
Dated 4-10-'40.

Dear Professor Abdul Ghani,

I write this to offer you my respectful congratulations on your brilliant essay on Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. I have read it twice with pleasure and profit and like it ever so much. This is the best of its kind ever published in English. As far as my information goes I do not remember to have read anything on Khwaja's life and work in English. Your translation of 'some of his verses into English' are accurate and faithful. I wish you could find time to write a book on this subject.

As a student of Islamic mysticism I value your contribution very much. With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. HAFIZ SYED

UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB
Persian Department
ORIENTAL COLLEGE,
Lahore, Dated 10-10-1941.

My dear Professor,

I thank you for the most valuable gift of your book. You have indeed explored a new region of Persian literature. Your

book is a pioneer work on the subject. It is extremely well got-up, worthy of the research which it incorporates.

What has given me the greatest satisfaction is that you have fervently advocated the cause of Indian Persian. My own conviction is that in some domains of Persian literature the Indians have far excelled the Persians, e.g., lexicography, grammar and prosody. In prose and poetry they are certainly their equals.

Please accept my sincerest congratulations on the successful finish of your labours. With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD IQBAL
(*Head of the Department of Persian*)

SIR SYED HALL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
Aligarh, October 14, 1941

My Dear Shams ul 'Ulama Sahib,

Let me first of all congratulate you on the completion of your great and magnificent work. It is well-written, well-planned and well-printed.

I thank you very sincerely for the reference made to me in your work: I hardly deserved it: but now that you have immortalized me, please accept my sincerest thanks.

With best wishes.

Ever yours sincerely,
HADI HASAN
(*Provost and Head of the Department of Persian*)

SHAH KALIMURRAHMAN, M.A.
SENIOR LECTURER IN ARABIC AND PERSIAN
Calcutta University

51, BAITAKHKHANA ROAD
Calcutta, 30-11-1941

My dear Shams ul 'Ulama Sahib,

I have just received your book 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan.'

I heartily congratulate you on this work. Great want was felt for such a book. I am extremely glad that you have removed this want and thereby rendered an invaluable service to the study of Persian Literature in India.

I am recommending this book to our University Library and also to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. RAHMAN

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE,
Calcutta, 3-3-1942.

My dear Shams ul 'Ulama Sahib,

I have just got a copy of your excellent work on Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan, and hasten to congratulate you on its publication. Students of Persian literature owe a deep debt of gratitude to you for presenting to them a systematic survey of a very interesting though complicated subject.

With my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. MAHFUZ UL HAQ
(*Professor of Persian*)

SENATE HOUSE
Allahabad, March 24, 1943

My dear Shams ul 'Ulama,

May I say with what pleasure and profit I have read your monumental work on Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan? It will prove to be a most valuable contribution to a neglected part of the History of Persian Literature, a part perversely under-rated by Browne.

Thanking you very much,
I am
Yours sincerely,
AMARANATHA JHA
(*Vice-Chancellor*)